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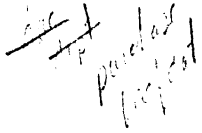

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MINISTRY OF INFORMATION

BRITAIN AND FRANCE:
PARTNERS IN THE COMING PEACE

Feb 1945

Introduction

On August 28th, 1944, speaking at a luncheon in honour of the French Commissar for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Eden said:

> "Before the war we felt the need for greater understanding between our two peoples. To-day the need for that understanding is greater still. It is not too much to say that the fate of Europe depends in a large measure on how far the two countries can work together."

Exactly a month later Mr. Churchill said in the House of Commons:

> "I have repeatedly stated that it is the aim, policy, and interest of His Majesty's Government of this country of Great Britain and of the Commonwealth and Empire to see erected once more, at the earliest moment, a strong, independent and friendly France. I have every hope that this will soon be achieved."

So far so good. We can very well understand the desirability of all this. The European collapse which accompanied the defeat of France serves to emphasize the importance of France in Europe and in the world. The insistence of German propaganda that it is on a strong and prosperous Germany that future European well-being depends, still further, and somewhat ironically, underlines the necessity for intelligent Franco-British co-operation. The lesson could hardly be forgotten so long as the Great War and the World War are remembered. It can be clearly read in a glance at the European map.

However, it is one thing to know what's good for us and another thing to get it; it is even quite a different thing to make a real try for it. It is an evident fact that Britain and France have not worked together successfully in the past. It is not unreasonable to question the prospects for good Franco-British relations in the future; and, since this issue is largely in our own hands, it can be constructive to do so.

Broadly speaking, it can be said that feeling in this country with regard to France is rather oddly mixed. The liberation of Paris and the whole contribution of the French Forces of the Interior to this war's second Battle of France has both moved and impressed us. We realize something of the perils and the patience involved in resistance work maintained through four years of enemy occupation. And we have inevitably been struck by the courage and dignity of the

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French public and the French Government; by the determination, resolute yet not ferocious, to eliminate traitors; by the speed and efficiency of the first measures for the restoration of the republic, manifesting a coherence and a preparedness that holds remarkable promise. All this of course is evidence that here indeed is an ally with whom we can work for the common good. But it does not convey to all of us a corresponding feeling of confidence or of friendship, because there is other evidence to consider. The old suspicion that the French are a difficult people with whom we cannot be expected to hit it off has been reinforced, to say the least of it, by the collapse of 1940 and by the fact that Vichy was a French Government.

It would be preposterous to ask us to forget 1940 and Vichy; no Frenchman will forget them. But because of our vital interest in the future stability of Europe, as well as from respect for much magnificent and valuable French performance, it is worth our while to find out how and why the things which we resent came about, and whether there are genuine widespread misunderstandings between the French and the British which could be clarified in a perfectly intelligible way.

Things we want to know

The questions about France to which ordinary British people want an answer are clear and reasonable enough.

1. What is the explanation of the collapse of 1940?
2. Why did France turn against Great Britain after the capitulation?
3. How was the Vichy Government able to get French support?
4. Who were the collaborators and how important a section of the population were they?
5. To what extent were French resources put at the service of Germany, and how far was there serious resistance?
6. Is there and has there been real hardship in France, or have our sympathies been played on while we are really worse off ourselves?
7. What is the French attitude to Great Britain and what is the French view on the future of Franco-British relations?

The questions about Britain to which ordinary French people want an answer are also clear and reasonable, and are asked with real interest and genuine wish for information. Since it is hardly gracious to put an ally in the dock without going in oneself, we may as well know what these questions are.

1. Why were the British so slow in 1939—thus leaving France once again to bear the brunt of the German attack?
2. Why did the British destroy the French Fleet at Oran when Marshal Pétain, the Victor of Verdun, had promised that the Germans should not use it?
3. Why were the British so slow in opening the Second Front?

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4. Why had the British not recognized de Gaulle and the Provisional Government of the French Republic?
5. To what extent has Britain been really hard pushed in her war effort throughout these years in which France has been cut off from all reliable news of British internal affairs?
6. What is the British view on the future of Franco-British relations?

All these questions from both sides of the Channel require long and detailed answers. But it may be possible to provide some general answer comparatively shortly, and the attempt will now be made.

Why did France collapse in 1940?

To explain the military defeat of 1940 is a matter for experts hereafter. It need only be suggested here that it is not on the face of it astonishing that an ill-prepared nation of 40 millions should be defeated in battle by a well-prepared nation of 80 millions. The contrast in preparedness, however, between France together with Britain on the one side and Germany on the other does indeed reflect the failure both of French and of British pre-war policy.

Our present concern is—what happened in 1940 in British and French minds?

Britain, as an island, thinks in terms of sea-power; France as a continental power, in terms of land-power; and indeed it is always difficult for a continental power fully to realize at any time the immensity and importance of the Royal Navy's task in war. In 1939-40 the naval contribution was relatively unimportant, and there was real resentment in France at our slowness to provide a land army.

One reason why it is difficult for us to understand French failure is that most of us are unacquainted with the French political background. Apart from any military reasons for defeat, there were three important and mutually related factors which should be understood over here.

Fifth Column

Firstly, a real fifth column did exist; small, but influential. The term is used here in an elastic sense to include, with those who were consciously playing a Fascist game, left wing pacifists who felt that no working populations had any quarrel and that war was a capitalist intrigue, the extreme Royalist and Catholic right who were openly opposed to the Government, and sincere patriots who were defeatists because they felt they had overwhelming reason to be so and wished to save their country from suicide. The Government was neither strong nor united, and was not helped by circumstances in rallying such elements as viewed it with suspicion. So brief a summary provides no adequate analysis of the Fifth Column; but is perhaps enough to remind us that there is no means of knowing, since we were not defeated, whether a possible British Fifth Column might not have played a similar role.

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Drain of previous war

Secondly, it is important to remember the drain of previous wars and invasions. France has been invaded and ravaged three times within living memory. During the last war, her northern industrial areas were laid waste by 52 months of unbroken fighting; mines, factories, cities and farms were left in ruins. Direct war expenditures of her Government were estimated at some 150,000 million francs. Great Britain and Ireland in the last war lost 744,702 men killed through enemy action; France, with a smaller population and a falling birthrate, lost 1,427,000 men at a very cautious estimate. The total figure of wounded for Great Britain and Ireland was between $1\frac{1}{2}$ and $1\frac{3}{4}$ million; the really seriously wounded Frenchmen alone numbered 2 million.

"Maginot complex"

A third factor was what has been called the Maginot complex. This must be regarded as resulting in great part from the failure of Franco-British diplomacy to organize security jointly in pre-war years; which in turn resulted in French suspicion of England. A brief outline of that failure should go far to place the whole question of mutual suspicion and resentment on a rational basis, and to bury the bogey of fundamental, inevitable, almost mystical antagonism.

Pre-war Franco-British foreign policy

Four security aims between the wars

After the last war, Clemenceau, Premier of France, asked Allied agreement on four demands, which the sufferings and the dangerous geographical position of his country seemed to justify. These were the return of Alsace and Lorraine, control of the Rhineland, exaction of full reparation from Germany, and continued Allied support for France as the natural counter-weight to German power in Europe.

The first aim was secured at Versailles. The peace plans of President Wilson and the economic interests of Great Britain hindered full realization of the other three.

The compromise reached on the Rhineland question left France unsatisfied; demilitarization was agreed upon, but Allied occupation was to last only for a period when Germany was bound to be weak anyway and cease when Germany was likely to be recovering strength.

The French outlook on reparations also differed from the Anglo-American view; to France reparation meant compensation for damage done; for the wear and tear of the struggle, and the havoc wrought on her soil—the main western battlefield. The English-speaking democracies associated reparation with the punitive clauses of the Treaty; they could thus consider that to lighten Germany's punishment would be generous and statesmanlike, instead of thinking of it as an unjust cutting of just compensation.

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Moreover, there was division of opinion within both France and Britain. Should France secure early payment for the sake of economic stability, or spin the matter out in order to keep a hold on Germany? Should Britain make Germany pay dearly for her cruel aggression, or help her along for the sake of her own export trade? Policy fluctuated, and the two allies were out of step. When France occupied the Ruhr in 1923 because German payments were in arrears, the action was little approved in England. Frenchmen felt that the British, having got Germany's colonies and merchant fleet and got rid of her navy, were satisfied themselves and had lost interest in their friends. Franco–British relations began to get nervous and jumpy, and France began to feel deserted and misunderstood.

Clemenceau's fourth and most important aim—continued Allied support of his country as the natural regulator of German power in Europe—was already doomed. From the start, France put far less faith than did Britain in the Covenant of the League of Nations as a sole sufficient guarantee of security against Germany. The initiative in sanctions was given to the Council of the League; against the French wish that action against an aggressor should be pre-determined automatic and immediate, and the French belief that only if sanctions were thus prompt and certain would they be a real deterrent to aggression. Early French proposals to create an international army were turned down by Britain and America. In these circumstances, France regarded talk of revision of the Treaty of Versailles as the thin end of a disastrous wedge, and was horrified to find Britain siding more and more with the "revisionist" powers.

Divergent viewpoint

At this date we can see the French point of view in the 'twenties and 'thirties more clearly than what was then our own. But Britain had a real distrust of a settlement made and kept by superior force, and felt that negotiation, conciliation and agreed treaty-revision carried out in a fair and reasonable spirit were the right road to sane international relations. The British thought of security as security against the renewal of war; therefore, removal of the grievances of ex-enemies, and cutting down of armaments for fear of competitive rearmament seemed at once the most shrewd and the most ethical policy. France thought of security as security against defeat should war in fact break out again; therefore the almost toothless League, the readiness to revise the Versailles Treaty and the cry for disarmament appalled her. Britain thought France narrow, obstructive and vindictive. France thought Britain to be animated by old fears and suspicions of French predominance in Europe.

Disarmament

The whole question of disarmament underlined the divergence of view between the two countries. At the Washington Conference of 1921 Briand scuttled discussion of land disarmament by refusing to reduce the period of military service in France except in return for

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pledges of military help against attack. But naval strength was limited in terms of tonnage and ratios. In 1922 Britain did offer Poincaré a guarantee of help, but when precise details were asked for the offer fell through. At the Council of the League's Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference the British idea that disarmament must precede the building of security and the French idea that guarantees of security must precede limitation of armament were in constant conflict. At the London Naval Conference of 1930 France refused further proposals for the limitation of non-capital ships on the grounds that she needed cruisers to protect her colonial territories. When the Disarmament Conference at last met in 1932 France again proposed the setting up of a League of Nations police force with a monopoly of bombing planes and was equally opposed by Britain, by America and by Germany.

By this time nothing had been done about land disarmament and little about naval disarmament, and with Hitler's assumption of power in January 1933, and the withdrawal of Germany from the Conference and from the League, France—in face of Germany's new military budget—refused to consider further disarmament and the Conference petered out. But Britain and France had all along had one thing in common : in both countries military establishments had been neglected both through financial restrictions and the rivalries of political parties.

French policy of alliances

Meanwhile, France had been attempting, ever since Versailles, to supplement the security promised by the League policy of collective undertakings with a parallel policy of separate alliances. Her military agreements with Belgium, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Jugoslavia were viewed in Germany as encirclement. The Locarno Treaty of 1925, to which Britain was a signatory, guaranteed the frontiers between Germany and both France and Belgium, and was intended both to allay German fears and consolidate the Versailles settlement. Nevertheless, it encouraged the view that the Versailles Treaty was not really binding unless confirmed by other arrangements and that Governments could not be expected to take military action in defence of frontiers in which they themselves were not directly interested.

Idealistic phase

Locarno was followed by an idealistic phase of French foreign policy. Briand supported the entry of Germany into the League of Nations and to a permanent seat on its Council, agreed to end the Inter-Allied Commission of Control, and acceded to Germany's immediate clamour for speedier Allied evacuation of the Rhineland, earlier French withdrawal from the Saar and lightening of reparations. The Briand-Kellogg Pact of 1928, signed by Britain, America, Germany, Italy and Japan as well as by France and her eastern Allies, condemned resource to war for solving international disputes and renounced it as an instrument of policy. Briand's memorandum on European Federal Union,

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circulated by the French Government in May 1930 to all European members of the League, proposed "a permanent regime of solidarity based on international agreements for the rational organization of Europe" within the framework of the League and not affecting the sovereign rights of member states. This fine conception was both too vague and too late. A few months later, 107 National Socialists were elected to the German Reichstag. The period of trouble which began next year, 1931, with the world economic crisis and Japan's challenge to the League reached its climax with the Munich settlement in 1938.

Years of crisis

These menacing years saw the resurgence of German power, German withdrawal from the League and repudiation of Versailles, the Anglo-German Naval Agreement of 1935, Mussolini's challenge to the League in the Abyssinian war and the Axis challenge to French security in the Spanish Civil War. These were years also of internal threat to the French Republic, of strife and unrest; and before this convergence of untoward circumstances within and without, French foreign policy fluctuated between appeasement and defiance.

Even French appeasement differed from that of Britain, for it was chiefly concerned with Italy whom Britain was more ready to defy even while conciliating Germany. France attempted to consolidate and extend her alliances; her support of Russia's entry to the League in 1934 laid the basis of the Franco-Soviet pact of 1935. That was the year also of the Anglo-German Naval Agreement; an event which shook the whole of France. It was regarded as a conspiracy to undermine the Versailles settlement which had barely satisfied her minimum security requirements in the first place. Next year Hitler took the Rhineland and openly tore up both the Versailles and Locarno treaties. When France deferred to British reluctance to eject Hitler from the Rhineland, she surrendered her last claim to an independent foreign policy, and was left, as it were, clinging desperately to that very Britain who seemed to have pared away every condition of safety. The negative policy of non-intervention in the Spanish war was followed in 1938 by the settlement of Munich.

The outbreak of war in 1939 and the collapse of 1940 put the final stamp on the failure of French foreign policy. She had failed in both her aims; to prevent war, and to prevent defeat should it come. With the paring away of the Versailles settlement, she had been driven to fluctuate between a system of alliances and guarantees to withstand hostility, and the buying off of hostility with concessions. Thus she felt sufficiently shored up to embark on war, but had allowed Germany—always superior in numbers and natural resources—to become strong enough to ensure French defeat when war came. She is to be blamed for neglect and inefficiency in her own military preparedness, but in the main issue she was very largely the victim of circumstances and of other people's mistakes.

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Pacifism and the Maginot mentality

This unhappy foreign policy had favoured the growth of appeasement among the French people as a counsel of despair. The ordinary French peasant, in spite of the prestige of the army, is in any case pacific; without imperialist ambition; attached to his local soil and independent way of life. The widespread left wing pacifism had a noble element, but was curiously negative and blinded to what was taking place in a real and harsh world. And there was an instinctive drawing away from the need to sacrifice yet another generation to the eternal struggle for national security; with the ravaged provinces, the 2 million seriously wounded, the 1½ million dead of the last war still vividly present to heart and mind. When war came, the famous Maginot Line was the last symbol of security, the last rampart of a hope that it might not happen again. The new offensive techniques of tanks and aviation bore no relation to the expected exchange of artillery barrage from one concrete fortification to another across the Rhine. The piercing of the Maginot Line was the piercing of a frontier believed inviolable; blind faith was overwhelmed by bewildering and hideous reality.

Effect of the phoney war

The effect of this shock when it came was enormously enhanced by three aspects of the preceding period known as the phoney war; hardship, inactivity and enemy propaganda.

Immediately on the outbreak of war 5 million Frenchmen were called up for military service. Wholesale mobilization of the entire manpower of the nation left farms and businesses in a precarious state at best, and at worst to certain ruin. It also seriously disorganized all State services. This created what must in any case have been a difficult administrative problem, and it was turned into an insoluble problem by the evacuation of the frontier provinces. France is a poorer country than England and her population lives largely in villages and small towns where social amenities and services are few. The presence of hundreds of thousands of foreign refugees, often with no resources of their own, was already a serious burden; when nearly ¾ million evacuees were transferred to the south-west—where there was a different dialect, different social habits, a different standard of living—it caused severe hardship.

Time hung heavily. No fighting, no air raids, diverted discontent. Men who had been eager to plunge straight to their country's defence waited month after month while their families suffered and their ordinary means of livelihood decayed. Above all, a rigid press censorship produced a news service whose uniform dullness was rivalled only by its uniform optimism.

This is the sort of atmosphere in which propaganda does take effect. Our own evacuee problem came after the phoney war had ended, and so did our exposure to the irritation of Allied comrades-in-arms being

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more highly paid than our own army. The French had more time to think about it. Enemy propaganda harped on the sufferings of the French civil population and on the difference in treatment of French and British soldiers. It told Frenchmen that British soldiers were having affairs with their wives, and added such encouragement as:

> "The English consider the French an inferior people. . . . The Englishman will accept the Frenchman's friendliness with a polite smile, but he will never accept him as an equal being. . . . Not long ago Lord Gort prohibited marriages between English soldiers and French girls, fearing that such wedlock would have a harmful influence on the British race. Now, the same Lord Gort has forbidden young English girls who form part of the B.E.F. to leave their quarters alone, for fear that they might meet a French soldier!"

The more serious themes were that the British were not pulling their weight and didn't mean to, that Britain intended Frenchmen to do all the fighting for her ("England will fight to the last franc and the last poilu as England fought to the last soldier in Poland"), that the French citizen had no reason or wish to fight at all but was duped by his Government, itself dependent on Great Britain ("France is becoming a dominion of the British Empire. Such is the result of the alliance with England").

Of course the French did not blindly swallow every enemy word put round; but they were reminded that British mobilization seemed slow and inadequate, that Britain had not seemed much concerned for French security during the last twenty years. And there is a real difference in the effect of propaganda on the two countries, reflected in the lighthearted nickname of "Lord Haw-Haw", and the angry nickname of his French opposite number "the Traitor of Stuttgart". We are much more impervious; our moat has protected us from successful invasion ever since 1066, we have won all our wars, we believe—though muddle is discredited and superseded—that at the very worst we always shall muddle through. Two earlier wars had surged over the French countryside within the memory of men still alive, and the first had ended in disastrous and most savage defeat.

The British legend of always muddling through has a very different French equivalent in the legend of the Battle of the Marne; that is to say that, since the Battle of the Marne was a turning point in the last war comparable with El Alamein in the North African theatre of this war, there remained when the Maginot Line proved so vulnerable a faith that somewhere a stand could be made and the tide rolled back again. But the speed of the German blitzkrieg, with its new military techniques, and the chaos of civilian bombing and refugees on the roads, combined to disorganize the military machine, civilian life and the political machine to such a point that France was left without any clear leadership either civic, military or national. There was an almost complete lack of news; many people in Paris did not even know that the city was to be evacuated till after Ministers had left.

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The particular power and responsibility allowed to the President in such times of emergency was expressed by President Lebrun in panic and vacillation that were a real betrayal of the people. There was no second Battle of the Marne, and the beaches of Dunkirk seemed to the French as the field of Waterloo. When an army with such fighting traditions as theirs was defeated, they did not believe that the almost non-existent British army could last a fortnight.

Why did France turn against Great Britain?

This analysis of the 1940 collapse already provides some explanation of why France afterwards turned against Great Britain. To this, further explanation must be added.

Dunkirk

To begin with, many Frenchmen believed at first, and not unnaturally, that the British evacuated from Dunkirk in order to save their own skins instead of to fight again. Many heroic French as well as British rearguard actions were fought to make that evacuation possible; and it was particularly tragic that an entirely false belief gained currency in France, namely, that the British did not bother to evacuate their French comrades-in-arms. This misunderstanding can be disposed of easily now. The French authorities had taken no steps in regard to evacuating their troops; they did not believe the escape could be achieved. It was on Lord Gort's initiative that from May 30th equal evacuation of French and British was carried out by order of our War Office. From Dunkirk, 186,587 British troops and 123,095 French troops were brought to safety. There were five times as many British ships as French involved, and the disparity in numbers of troops is due to the fact that the British had four days' start for lack of any instructions or authorization with regard to the French. But the misunderstanding, to which the four days' delay lent corroboration, could not be disposed of in 1940, because the Germans used it as a valuable weapon. The French had had no orders to leave because they expected to fight—with their Allies; the British ran away and left the French; that was the version which was believed in the confusion of defeat.

Oran

More serious was our bombardment of the French Fleet at Oran. The necessity for our action is unquestionable; we knew well enough what value to attach to the terms of Germany's armistice with France promising that the French Fleet should not be used; we knew that Pétain would be unable to resist German pressure; we knew that the battle of the seas was a battle of life or death for ourselves and the common good. We offered the French Fleet every conceivable alternative; to join with us and fight for their country; to transfer to a British port, or even to Martinique or the United States, with repatriation after the war guaranteed. Admiral Gensoul and his

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officers felt bound by the terms of the armistice and the orders of their Government, and the helpless ships were destroyed with many of those on board.

The French people were not told of the alternative terms offered; of the tragedy itself they were told much. Their Fleet put up what defence it could, and some of the brave men were killed in combat. It was easy for the Germans, through the controlled French press and radio system as well as from direct German sources, to represent this as a cold-blooded massacre. France was told that the R.A.F. deliberately machine-gunned defenceless men who were simply trying to remove the bodies of their dead. The horrible distortions which were circulated were hardly needed to make so painful an episode appear an outrage: an outrage unprecedented in the whole tumult of history. For the French were in perfect good faith in their determination that the ships were never to be used against their ex-ally; the difference between the French and ourselves was that they believed that the word of Pétain, still so honoured, and the terms of the armistice were reliable guarantees, while no one in England has ever doubted that the Germans would have found means to enforce the use of those ships against us and therefore against the liberation of France. Mr. Churchill himself spoke of the bombardment as an act against nature, and respected the characteristic courage of the French who resisted it, feeling themselves bound to obey the orders of their Government behind which they could not see the German dictator. France was proud of her relatively new fleet, second only to that of Britain, destroyed as it seemed with wanton or jealous brutality in her time of weakness, while we made professions of friendship that must have sounded cynical enough. While Britain deplored an obvious necessity, France rang with grief for her slaughtered sailors; and even some of the brave French army, who had come from Dunkirk to England to fight with us, went back to their own country cut to the heart.

Confusion and ignorance of facts

There must also have been a sickening feeling in France, with her memories of the appalling war of 1870 and the devastating invasion of 1914, that she was always left with the heavy end of the stick and that we hardly knew what war meant. But the most important factor was the sheer confusion of defeat, the fog over everything, the ignorance of facts. It did not seem possible then that Britain could win—indeed, it is a part of our own pride to acknowledge that—and no reliable information was available as to what was really happening. The opportunity which this early bewilderment and humiliated misery gave to the Germans for consolidating their grip was inevitably of great assistance to them; nevertheless, it is a real tribute to the French that so few were taken in and for so short a time.

Why was Vichy able to exist?

French acceptance of Vichy can largely be explained in terms of

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ignorance of the facts, plus wishful thinking. It was a sop to French dignity when France was down and out and Great Britain seemed doomed. Indeed, the Vichy Government with a national hero at its head and the pleasant illusion of a free zone were the only really original and subtle devices of which the Germans made use in any occupied country. The myth of the free zone was used to drain and divide energy and add to the confusion, because it was governed by so many changing and disheartening regulations, and could not exist as a self-sufficient unit independently of the rest of France; and, together with the French prisoners held in Germany, it was cruelly used as a weapon of blackmail. Again, the Germans had well realized how fully the French respected and trusted Pétain, how easily dazzled they would be by the sight of the Victor of Verdun presiding at Vichy.

What do we mean by wishful thinking? Roughly speaking, we mean that people *want* to hope, and that in times of despair and confusion even honest, intelligent people can fall for a false hope if it has a good veneer of plausibility and honour. The old Marshal's prestige stood so high, his probity was so untarnished, that he was exempt from suspicion as a double-crosser. If only something could be all right—and Pétain, surely, must be all right. It was fairly widely hoped and therefore, at such a time, believed, that he was in secret league with de Gaulle. And hopes were pinned even to Laval, as a type of artful intelligence. Was he not just the man who might pull a fast one on the Germans?

Who were the collaborators?

There were of course some definite collaborators. However fully we realize that in any nation under such circumstances some collaborators would almost certainly have been found—even had it been Britain—it is legitimate and important to ask how much and what kind of collaboration there was in France.

First, then, there were the real quislings; the handful of prominent quislings who formed the personnel of successive Vichy Governments, and some thousands of members of genuinely Fascist groups. Probably they never totalled more than 50,000 even at the height of Germany's power, and no more than half of that could be relied on when the tide turned.

Secondly, there were Pétainists, well-intentioned wishful thinkers, who got themselves involved in an ambiguous situation and then found it was too late to back out. These were mostly high officials and men of the army and the navy, many of whom first started on the wrong path from misguided military or political loyalty and could not break away when they realized where it led. This section of collaborators were few in number, but had influential relations with the big industrialist class.

A higher proportion of collaborators came from among the big industrialists, but in France there are relatively few of them, and the

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small employers—who could evade supervision much more easily—have by comparison a good record.

Finally, there were left wing pacifists, socialists and trade unionists who were fooled by the spurious popular appeal of National Socialism, and blinded by fear of the effects of war. Some of these too became real traitors on finding it too late to draw back.

The actual number of out-and-out collaborators was unquestionably very small. In spite of minor outbreaks of natural popular feeling, the present French attitude to collaborators is both firm and dignified. It would hardly be unnatural if those who had dared and worked and suffered for liberty and honour had now become drunk with sudden power, with self-righteousness and accumulated anger. Instead we see a strong determination to dismiss all leading persons who collaborated, and to avoid persecution of those who were weak and misled, making allowance for the terrible dilemma in which so many French people found themselves of having to make some adjustment of principles if they were to keep their families alive. And, of course, examples have already come to light of seeming collaborators who were indeed pulling fast ones on the Germans; incurring odium among their patriotic friends as part of their sacrifice in the service of the resistance.

A clear exposition of the claims of justice and of mercy was made on September 15th, 1944, by M. François de Menthon at a press conference at the Ministry of Information in Paris. He explained that to expedite the purge special courts of justice had been constituted where collaborators were to be tried by jury according to the laws of the Republic and with full rights for the defence. Two courts were already functioning. French people who had done no more than obey the orders of the Vichy Government in subordinate positions were exempt from liability to be put on trial, except in cases where it had clearly been in their power to evade an order and where refusal to conform would have served the nation. No such exemption could apply to anyone guilty of such acts as denunciation or betraying concealed persons or concealed stocks to the enemy.

France is facing the problem fairly and frankly, without cruelty or softness.

How far were French resources put at Germany's disposal?

When asking how far French resources were put at Germany's disposal, we have of course to consider very varied kinds of resources, ranging from brains to bread.

Intellectuals

In these days when wider educational and intellectual opportunities are asked for as a democratic necessity, it is particularly heartening to realize that great courage and solidarity have been shown by the intellectuals of every occupied country. In France, all the best writers were on the side of the resistance, with the exception only of

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some half dozen most of whom were known before to be politically unsound. A relatively large number of venal journalists allowed themselves to be used by the Germans, but it was different indeed with writers of higher rate and with academic personnel.

It is worth remembering that French resistance, which later developed also into nation-wide sabotage and pitched battles, began first, and very promptly, as a movement of intelligence. It must have meant a great deal in the early days of bewildered grief and ignorance that the clandestine press overcame crippling difficulties and braved lethal hazards in order to present Frenchmen on their own soil with honest facts, to ridicule the all-powerful enemy, and to point out a way through the fog to clarity and action.

Workers, small tradesmen and officials

The vast majority of workers and small tradesmen were resistant. These very ordinary people of no especial advantages had the guts and the wits to be on the apparently doomed side from the start; circulating pamphlets, helping "wanted" men, forgetting anything the Germans wanted to know from them. Some high officials were at Germany's disposal; notable exceptions were, for instance, Lepercq and the Paris police. Railwaymen, post office workers, and indeed most of the officials were resistant. To take one example, hidden resisters were supplied with false identity cards and ration books by official means.

Industry

German control of industry was very thorough and her economic organization to exploit conquered countries was highly efficient. Therefore most large employers did collaborate, although there were often attempts to sabotage and to go slow, and at least one big industrialist, forced to provide work on aerodromes for the Germans, handed over all the proceeds to the resistance and accepted their instructions as to whether work was to be shoddy to let the Germans down or good for Allied use in the near future.

Small employers were harder to regiment and showed extreme resource in evading German control. It is worth realizing something of the industrialist's dilemma. Was it better to keep workers employed under a French employer doing his best to restrict production; or to refuse to produce at all, with the result that the works was either taken over and therefore became more productive for Germany, or was closed and the unhappy workers sent to Germany with the same result? Great ingenuity and solidarity was achieved between the small employers and the workers, over such matters as sending men to the Maquis, employing them on work not useful to the Germans, evading regulations, and so on.

Agriculture

As far as agriculture is concerned it is absolutely impossible for an occupied country to avoid large-scale requisitioning. When that has been said, it can also be said that the enormous efforts to evade it were

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highly successful, given such circumstances. Black markets, grey markets, parcels for towns, employment of resisters, feeding the Maquis, were all undertaken and to some extent put through. But such activities were bound to be limited. Hence the glut found on the arrival of the Allies in Normandy, a great food-producing area where supplies had further accumulated owing to dislocation of transport and cessation of German requisitioning.

To what extent has France suffered?

This naturally brings us to one aspect of our enquiry into the nature and weight of the burden France has borne during these years through which, both of necessity and by choice, we have been heavily burdened ourselves.

Food situation

After the Allied landings in Normandy we found ourselves in the ungraceful position of being disappointed and angry because it seemed that the French had plenty to eat. Disappointment was in proportion to the fact that we had felt genuinely sympathetic towards distress; if after all there was no distress we had been fooled. Anger was in proportion to the fact that we had been and were strictly rationed and were apparently going to be called on to make sacrifices in the future to give unnecessary help to people better off than ourselves. It was only natural to want to believe that such help would be unnecessary and that we were morally free of future obligations, and it was not our fault that we drew these conclusions unjustly. For we were truly told that Normandy was overflowing with food and we were not given the general picture.

France is normally almost self-supporting in practically all the basic foodstuffs. The different regions, however, have often a very specialized production so that exchange between the different regions is essential, and this distribution, of course, depends on an adequate transport system.

Since the occupation, France has been systematically robbed of as much of her food as the Germans could remove without causing so severe a shortage that the French would be physically incapable of working for them. Such shortage is particularly serious in its after effects for children and young people.

This position will not be automatically remedied by German withdrawal. Agriculture has in general been short of fertilizer and catastrophically short of manpower. And a great deal of the best wheat growing region has been devastated by the Allied advance, as well as by bombing and by the retreating Germans, while the shortage of meat and dairy products will remain for some time, since in addition to depletion under the occupation it was necessary to kill cattle in the regions invaded.

Thus even in Normandy, the food position was misleading to the liberators; although like all food-producing regions it has been well

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fed, since the Germans could not check up on all the declarations of the peasants and of course did not want to kill the goose that laid golden eggs. Our armies came upon a temporary glut caused by killing off cattle in the immediate zones of military activities, by the sudden cessation of German demands, and above all by the cessation of normal deliveries to other parts of France owing to the transport stoppage. Our troops saw vast stocks of food, in short supply in Britain but more desperately so elsewhere in France. They saw also puzzling anomalies; refugees being fed on Camembert cheese—a luxury in Britain though a normal article of French diet—for lack of bread and flour; feasts, which might more wisely have been hoarded, recklessly dispensed to honour a great hour and to give pleasure to the liberators.

Normandy is the great supplier of dairy produce and vegetables to the region north of the Seine and in particular to the Paris region. And, as we have seen, the nutrition of France as a whole depends on exchange between different regions. But to sabotage transport was a patriotic duty from which the French did not shrink. They kept it up with such daring and relentless efficiency as to throw the whole distributive system into chaos. Therefore, in non-food-producing regions, especially in the wine-producing regions of the south, the food shortage has long been acute. The towns have also suffered heavily. In the weeks before the invasion the general rationing system broke down as coupons could not be honoured. In some regions there was no milk for weeks even for babies; in others bread gave out; in Paris there was no meat at all, few vegetables and little bread. That is the reverse side to the glut in Normandy. But for the Black Market, thousands of French families and men of the Maquis would have starved. There were exploiters too, as in every country; a Black Market as we customarily use the term. But the Black Market was also a patriotic instrument of national survival.

France's general situation is nothing so dramatic and spectacular as starvation. It is the dreary evil of prolonged malnutrition, which has weighed most heavily upon the working classes in the large industrial towns. Its effects will be seen more clearly in the post-war years. It means lower resistance to disease, an alarming increase in tuberculosis especially among children and the young, a greater prevalence of miscarriages and of infant mortality. In Britain bread and potatoes are plentiful and unrationed; in France they are pitifully scarce, though bread forms a much larger proportion of normal diet there than here. If the Allies have sent chocolate to France, it is because not even the children have been able to have a ration of ¼-lb—one-third of what we can all buy every month. And so we need not feel bitter about well-fed Normandy, or the too-generous hospitality of people suddenly set free.

Clothes

Any woman can understand that the Frenchwomen have done their best to dress for the occasion of liberation and to put up a good appearance; that is a part of normal self-respect, and most Frenchwomen

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are rather gifted at putting up a good appearance even under difficulties. But women in Britain, worrying over their coupons, have been really irritated by the glamorous pictures of present Paris fashions. It is so natural to be easily irritated at the present time, and even to feel that our own privations are made worse by someone else having better luck, that it seems worth while to give the explanation. Like all other modern nations, France must export to live; and her fashion drive is not a matter of luxury at home, but an effort to rebuild one part of her export trade; just as we sent beautifully-dressed mannequins to South America not so very long ago. Even such simple necessities as shoes have been in really short supply in France for years; children's shoes in particular have been almost unobtainable.

The general picture

France has suffered nothing comparable to the blitzes we have undergone. It is true that we have been under the necessity to bomb military, including industrial, objectives in France ourselves, and that it is rather a strange trial to be bombed by your friends. But this necessity has on the whole been surprisingly well understood and accepted by the French; which is a tribute not only to them but to the R.A.F., since the precision of our bombing both spared unnecessary destruction and convinced the sufferers that our raids were neither callous nor careless. Hence such curious episodes as people cheering planes that might render them homeless or maim or kill them; and saying "well—they had to do it", as they bent over the corpses of friends.

Our sufferings from air raids, then, have been far heavier; "go slow" tactics could not be for us, and no nation has worked harder; we have also endured innumerable restrictions and controls. But obligatory as these are, there is a sense in which they are of our own choosing; they do serve a cause to which our hearts and wills are turned. Moreover, our freedom of mind and expression are scarcely impaired; nothing more urgent than tact is likely to demand the lowered voice, the glance over the shoulder, when we speak our thoughts. The heaviest part of France's burden has lain simply in not being free.

It is hard to define the place of atrocities and the torture chamber in a general picture. Atrocity and torture were official and organized on a sickening scale; but in relation to the population as a whole they were the exception. The rule was the maintenance of a carefully "correct" attitude on the part of the occupying enemy, in order that the majority should go about their daily business as normally as possible. We know that terror tactics only inflamed the resistance groups to greater endeavour; that the execution of the first hostages was the signal for a frenzy of sabotage; that very many ordinary men and women found the moral courage to work steadily for liberation with the shadow of rack and whip and red-hot irons menacing not only themselves but their families and their associates. But to the

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majority of the people the suspicion (it cannot always have amounted to knowledge) of the ugly savageries perpetrated on French soil must have been not so much a direct threat as an occasional haunting by some formless unclean thing.

Summary

It is impossible to attempt any balance sheet or comparison of the hardship and suffering respectively endured by Great Britain and France. Our trials have been great and our contribution enormous; and have taken place, so to speak, in the full light of day. We have not been called on to endure malnutrition or indignity or ceaseless anxiety and precaution, to choose between the ties of family and country, to applaud the bombing that befell us, to risk facing the Gestapo's artists in agony. We believe that had we been in the position of France we too would have blown up railways and bridges, wrecked our own food distribution, trained a secret army, liberated our own capital city when the hour came. We do not believe that in our own position any other country could have done more than we have done. It is best to abandon any balance sheet conception, and admit that both countries have some cause to commiserate and to respect each other.

What is the real French attitude to Great Britain?

France at any rate is ungrudging in readiness to pay full honour to what she already knows of our sacrifice and endurance. She is also eager to know more.

As far as reliable information on outside happenings was concerned, the clock stopped for France in 1940. To many British people recently there, it came as something of a surprise to find such ancient history as our stand in 1940 and the spirit shown through the horrors of the blitz still exciting vivid admiration, while our subsequent war effort is largely unknown. Mr. Churchill's resolute leadership has indeed been long appreciated, but the strictness of our rationing, etc., the completeness of our mobilization of manpower, the enormous contribution of women, our progressive plans for the future, all come as news. And they arouse lively interest, sympathy and respect. The French people in their tribulation have not turned to the sour comfort of depreciation, fancied grievances and old resentments. There is a generous spirit as well as a just one in giving us our fair due so heartily.

A second point that augurs well for future Franco-British relations is that the French people believe most fervently in the necessity of close co-operation with us.

A third is that France to-day is full of belief in herself. She has been through the valley of humiliation, and struggled out on the other side with a high spirit. That is always a great and proud human achievement. Even through her darkest hours, her forces abroad were fighting for her and her allies in Africa, in Corsica, in Italy, in the air and on the high seas, while on French soil the secret army dared and prepared for the final united attack. Thus she is ready to take her responsibility and her proper place in the world.

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Fourthly, a great obstacle to working honourably together has at last been cleared away by the full recognition of the Provisional Government of the French Republic.

Conclusion

There are two main problems in the creation of Franco-British understanding.

On the one hand, in spite of her belief in us and of the paramount importance of co-operation with us, France still cannot but suspect that a tendency to draw away from Europe lies dormant in Britain; that we may not have learnt for good and all that in the world of to-day there can be no islands. Much depends, therefore, upon Great Britain recognizing the importance of real agreement with France on the German problem and future organization of security, and upon our acceptance of conscription for a period of military training in order that no aggressor could count on a long time-lag between our bark and our bite. It is also important that we should recognize France's national spirit and belief in her future as a great power.

On the other hand, there are our own misconceptions about the French; that they are disunited, that they are so difficult, that they haven't suffered during the war. This can only be solved by our taking the trouble to think about them and learn about them a little. For example, if we learn why French and British foreign policy between the two wars failed to organize security, we may feel that, in a not altogether unsympathetic way, it was we ourselves who were "difficult". Or if we think about the effects of loss of intellectual and political freedom through years of enemy occupation, and of the necessity for many of the most heroic people in the country to learn to live like bandits outside the law, we may feel that the French are facing up to inevitable and very real difficulties too well to be called "difficult" for their pains.

Finally, it is important that the French should not believe that Great Britain is dependent on America.

One of the clearest lessons of this war is that intelligent Franco-British co-operation for security is necessary to the peace of Europe. With the French so well aware of that fact, and so handsomely and warmly disposed towards us, it will be just too bad if we cannot abandon some of our worn-out clichés and get down to it.

December 1944.

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MINISTRY OF INFORMATION

CEYLON

PART I

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THE ISLAND OF CEYLON

The word " Ceylon " conjures to the imagination a vision of colour, sound and aromatic perfume run riot. It is the " island of spices " of the old traders of sailing ship days; of cinnamon, frangipani, citronella and coffee, the blended scents of which float out over the sea to greet the approaching vessel; of scarlet hibiscus and lilies twice the height of a man, springing from a warm, red earth; of sandal-wood and ebony, pearls and sapphires, and rubies; of the sacred Bo-tree and temple processions of bejewelled, Eastern splendour. All this is true. In Ceylon nature has scattered her gifts in a luxury mood. But from the point of view of her place in the world to-day, both in peace and war, the importance of the island rests on more solid, yet on soberer prospects. The products of the island themselves have changed to meet the needs of a new age. Cinnamon and coffee have given way to tea, rubber and copra. But even more than on what she herself produces, important as these are, Ceylon's importance in the world of to-day rests on her position with regard to other centres of production. In an age, when both for purposes of industrial life and for war, the world has become a single unit, communications have become of paramount importance, and Ceylon is a key-point of world routes.

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POSITION

Ceylon lies off the south-east of India, where the Bay of Bengal opens out into the Indian Ocean and is the half-way house between the Middle East and Australia, and between Africa and Burma. It is situated between 5°—10° north of the Equator. Its roughly pear-shaped and has an area of 25,332 sq. miles (i.e. about half the size of England), measuring from north to south 270 miles, and from east to west at the broadest part, 140 miles.

PHYSICAL FEATURES

The whole structure of Ceylon is determined by the large mass of crystalline mountains that once formed part of the Indian highlands

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and occupies the centre of the southern and wider portion of the island surrounded by a coastal strip on all sides and leaving the northern half of the island as one flat plain.

From this central mountain district rivers radiate in all directions but, they are short and not of great importance as many of them shrink to mere streams in the dry season. Round the coast they empty themselves into shallow, coconut-fringed lagoons, formed by coral reefs that stand out beyond the sandy shores, making an effective, translucent framework for the traveller's first view of Adam's Peak, suspended above the mists that so often cloud the lower slopes of the central mountains.

CLIMATE

For a country that lies so near the Equator, Ceylon has an equable climate. The temperature, though high, is less oppressive than it would otherwise be because of the sea breezes. There is little variation in temperature either from day to night, or from winter to summer. January is the coldest month and May the hottest, but even at the hottest time of the year there are hill stations in the interior, among them the famous Nuwara Eliya (pronounced Nuralia) where it is delightfully cool.

Ceylon lies in the area of the monsoons, the south-west prevailing from June to October and the north-east from November to May. This fact, in conjunction with the position of the mountains, is responsible for the great variation in rainfall over the island, which again determines the differences of vegetation.

The mountain region and south-west portion of the island generally have the heaviest rainfall, amounting in places to as much as 200″ per annum. The south-east and north-west parts of the island are much drier, particularly the north where there are no mountains to intercept the winds, and in places the rainfall is less than 40″ a year.

NATURAL REGIONS

As a result of the land structure, the island divides itself naturally into three distinct regions.

1. *Hill Country.* The central mountains consist of a series of ridges separated by deep valleys running roughly north-east—south-west with here and there wide grassy or marshy plains surrounded by mountains, like the Horton Plain near Nuwara Eliya. Many of the individual heights rise to over 6,000 ft., among them the famous Adam's Peak (7,360 ft.). The rainfall, though not so heavy as in the plains of the south-west, is more continuous and the sun is sometimes hidden by dense mists for days or even weeks on end.

It is in this region that most of the rubber plantations and nearly all the tea gardens are found, the latter especially between Kandy, the old capital of Ceylon, and Nuwara Eliya.

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The slopes of the mountains have been carefully terraced for the cultivation of paddy (rice) which is an important item of food for the island. It is on the south-west slopes of these mountains that the gems for which Ceylon is famous are found: sapphires, rubies, moonstones and aquamarines. These are obtained from pockets of weathered rock and alluvial deposits and are worked in hundreds of small quarries especially in the alluvial deposits around Ratnapura.

2. *The Coastal Plain.* The plains that surround the central mountain mass to the east, south and west are at no point above 1,000 ft. above sea level. They are of irregular formation with a reddish, laterite rock characteristic of warm countries that have an alternation of wet and dry seasons. It is a spongy formation that breaks down into a fertile red soil, with here and there the basic crystalline rock breaking through in an isolated height. The low country on the west and south-west of the mountain is the wettest part of the island, and is largely occupied by wet rice fields that yield two crops a year, one after each monsoon. In the higher lands towards the hills are plantations run by Sinhalese growers of mixed trees: coconuts, mangoes, jaks, etc. On the borders of the hill country are rubber plantations and tea gardens. All round the coasts coconuts are grown in abundance and, in areas with light sandy soil, the cinnamon tree. In this region also grows the grass from which citronella oil is derived.

3. *North Limestone Plain.* The whole of the northern and narrower half of the island consists of a plain of pale-coloured limestone, sometimes covered by a thin bright red soil, and is nowhere more than 300ft. above sea level. This is the region of least rainfall owing to the absence of high land to intercept the winds. In the early Sinhalese period agriculture was carried on with the help of a system of irrigation, but, in the succeeding era of constant strife and consequent neglect, the soil became dry and poor, and there is much waste and scrub land. In the period of British rule, especially of latter years, increasing efforts have been made to return the land to a state of fertility. The palmyra palm grows here in considerable quantities and it is from this district that the characteristic hardwoods of the island: ebony, satinwood and teak are obtained.

COMMUNICATIONS

The whole of Ceylon's history and economic development has been determined by the fact of her geographic position at the junction of world trade routes. It was this fact that brought to her shores a succession of seafaring nations; Portuguese, Dutch and finally the British. It is to this fact she owes her growing entrepôt trade and it is this that has given her her great strategic importance in a world war. The living heart of Ceylon's system of communications, both in the island itself and for the ocean routes that keep the life blood of trade pulsing through the island, is the city of Colombo.

It is significant that the old capital of the kings of the days of Ceylon's self-contained agrarian civilisation, is no longer the capital of the

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island. That position in a modern world of commerce has inevitably been taken by the town that offers the facilities to the shipping of the world's merchant fleets. In the heart of the mountains the city of Kandy still provides a centre of pilgrimage to the island's ancient temples, but it is Colombo, looking out from the coast over the sea-ways that controls the present and future life of the island.

(1) EXTERNAL COMMUNICATIONS

COLOMBO

Colombo had not, like Trincomalee on the east coast, a fine natural harbour, but its position on the west coast made a more convenient port of call for shipping from western routes and it has long been an important junction for trade routes by the Cape and Suez to India and the Far East. During the war, the Cape route has been much used and it has become of great importance for British and American ships bound for ports in the Bay of Bengal.

Distances from Colombo to points for which she is a port of call are: to Aden, 2,100 miles: to Calcutta, 1,250 miles: to Bombay, 880 miles: to Rangoon, 1,235 miles: to Fremantle, 3,100 miles.

By the building of Colombo's magnificent artificial harbour, the largest in the world, British enterprise and engineering skill have opened up all the possibilities of world commerce to the island. Ceylon already possessed in Trincomalee a very fine natural harbour, but for purposes of trade, a site on the west coast was essential. There was a natural harbour at Galle on the south-west point of the island but this had the disadvantages of a rocky entrance and of being exposed to the monsoons at some seasons. At Colombo there was no natural harbour but the location was ideal. The provision of the present facilities represents the culmination of over 60 years' concentration of the highest engineering technique, of vast sums of capital, and of a far-seeing determination to develop the resources of the island on a scale fitted to the needs of modern commerce.

By a magnificent feat of engineering an area of over a square mile has been enclosed by three breakwaters, providing safe harbourage at any season of the year. The western entrance, 630 ft. wide, is available for vessels up to 33 ft. draught, and the northern, 350 ft. wide, for vessels of 27 ft. draught. There is a dry-dock where vessels up to 10,000 tons can be repaired, and 18 coaling jetties. During the south-west monsoon there are mooring berths for 35 vessels up to 800 ft. and with 33ft. draught. During the north-east monsoon, there are 38 mooring berths available. Excellent facilities for docking, bunkering, loading and unloading cargo, water supply, etc., are provided. Total quayage measures over 15,500 ft. and there is extensive warehouse accommodation and up-to-date oil installations.

Since construction was first begun in 1875, the harbour has been constantly extended and improved to meet the needs of modern shipping and increased trade. For example, the dredging of the

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harbour has been calculated to keep pace with the needs of vessels using the Suez Canal so that the largest ships on that route can be accommodated.

By the provision of this fine harbour affording full protection from the monsoons and free of navigational difficulties, not only has the trade of the island itself been assured a free exit and entrance, but Colombo has become a highly important entrepôt centre. The degree to which the island owes its increased trade to the harbour is evident from the phenomenal growth of the city itself since the port was converted from a mere open roadstead, relying entirely on its geographical situation, into the fine artificial harbour which the island owes to the skill of British engineering.

Some idea of the volume of commerce which has thus been brought to the island can be gained from the fact that the figures for imports and exports handled in the port in 1939 amounted to 1,609,128 tons.

In addition to its importance to peace-time shipping, the existence of this fine harbourage has become a factor of immense significance in the Allied control of eastern waters for purposes of the war in the Eastern Theatre.

TRINCOMALEE

Trincomalee on the east coast, was the old harbour of the period of the Dutch occupation. It is a natural harbour of the first rank. Nelson, indeed, is said to have described it as the finest in the world. After Ceylon became a Crown Colony, Trincomalee was made the Headquarters for the Admiral Commanding in the East India Station with a garrison of infantry and British artillery. Between 1818-1904 it was turned into a modern fortress but in the following year the station was abandoned, the naval yard closed and the military garrison withdrawn. It was opened shortly after the war broke out in 1939 and is an important naval base at the present time. In contrast to Colombo, Trincomalee is mainly of strategic importance. From this point of view it is a very valuable asset with its position commanding the Bay of Bengal and being, as it is, the only entirely natural harbour in the whole Indian peninsula.

AIR COMMUNICATIONS

An air mail service connects Ceylon with India by way of Madras, Bombay and Karachi and so with the rest of the world.

(2) INTERNAL COMMUNICATIONS

The internal system of communications of Ceylon like those that unite her with the outside world, radiate from Colombo, which as well as being the centre for trade is now not only the capital of the island but the centre of its government and its educational life.

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RAILWAYS

All railways in Ceylon are state-owned. The system covers a mileage of 951, 834 of which are broad-gauge. From Colombo the line runs up to Jaffna in the extreme north of the island with a branch off to Mannar Island. From there it is carried by ferry across the Palk Strait—22 miles—to Dhanushkodi on the Island of Rameswaran which is connected with the mainland of India by a railway viaduct along a line of reefs one-and-a-half miles long. Branch lines connect to Kandy and other hill towns of the central province where most of the tea is grown, and from Maho north of the hill country, a branch runs to Trincomalee on the east coast and to Batticaloa farther south. There is no coast railway on the east but along the west coast a line runs from Galle in the extreme south as far as Puttalam, about two-thirds of the way up to Mannar Island.

ROADS

An excellent system of roads, following roughly the same general plan as the railways, has been constructed and is maintained by the Public Works Department. Altogether some 5,000 miles of metalled roads, most of them tarred or surface treated, now serve the island's needs.

Their construction has involved some fine feats of engineering, especially in the mountain regions. In the prosperity which these roads have brought to her internal economy, as in the harbour which has brought the entrepôt trade of the east to her coasts, Ceylon owes much to the skill of British engineers and to the enterprise of her Government administration of whose plan for the development of the island's resources they form a vital part.

Following roughly the general plan of the railways, main roads run from Colombo up to Jaffna, to the ferry on Mannar Island; up the west coast, and to the central hill towns and to Trincomalee and Batticaloa on the east coast. In addition there are many secondary roads serving districts where there is no railway and forming a network of communications throughout the island by which the plantations and estates can get their goods to the markets.

CANALS

Hardly any of the rivers of Ceylon are of any commercial use but a system of canals—a legacy of the period of Dutch occupation—connects a chain of lakes and the estuaries of four rivers along the west coast, forming a continuous waterway of about 120 miles from Kalutara (about 30 miles south of Colombo) north to Pattalam.

POSTAL, TELEGRAPH AND TELEPHONE SERVICE, ETC.

An important development from the point of view both of opening up the resources of the island and the entrepôt trade is the provision of services, to promote speed of communications with the outer world.

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Postal, telegraph and telephone services are now provided in all the main towns and many villages, though some outlying places still have to rely on runner services and bullock carts to collect their mail and take it to the nearest station. It is characteristic of the oddly contrasted conditions to be found in the island that these primitive methods exist alongside a daily train mail via India and an air mail service by which it keeps in close touch with Karachi and so the outside world.

The Government also maintains a regular broadcast service from Colombo giving programmes of music, talks and news in English, Sinhalese and Tamil, another important contribution to progress in an island where the population is still partly illiterate.

FINANCE

The monetary unit in Ceylon is the Indian silver rupee, which is divided into 100 cents, and the chief medium of exchange are the currency notes issued by the Government of Ceylon. Besides the usual facilities of the international banks, Ceylon has two savings banks: the Ceylon Savings Bank, a Government institution established in 1832, and the P.O. Savings Bank, managed by the Post and Telegraph Department. There are also numerous Co-operative Societies, including banks, Village Credit Societies, Thrift Societies, etc. Ceylon was the first Crown Colony to combat the problem of rural debt by the aid of credit societies and they have done good work also in helping to effect reforms and educate the people from too great a dependence on Government loans.

The main sources of revenue are customs excise charges on country and foreign liquors, income and estate taxes.

ECONOMY

Apart from the trade which passes through the harbour of Colombo, Ceylon is an agricultural community. Its industry is of small importance and has been so far confined to preparing its raw materials for market.

In the old days of Dutch occupation the mainstay of the island was its cinnamon trade, of which the Dutch held a monopoly. Changes in market requirements led to the decline of the industry and, though it is still produced on a small scale it was the coffee plantations that were responsible for the prosperity of Ceylon in the early days of British rule. It was the need of the planters to get their crops to market more easily that prompted road and railway construction in the middle of the 19th Century. But coffee, too, owing partly to competition from Brazil and partly to a disease which attacked the crops, began to decline.

Ceylon's present economy is based on three main crops: tea, rubber, and the coconut palm, and in the case of two of these—tea and rubber—the island definitely owes its present prosperity to the foresight and

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initiative of British enterprise. Neither of these crops is indigenous to the island and their introduction brought a new prosperity at a time when it was faced with the failure of its main product.

TEA

Tea was introduced into Ceylon in 1845 and experiments made at the Ceylon Botanical Gardens to determine the variety most suitable to the conditions of the island. So successful has the venture proved that from 350 acres under cultivation in 1874 the acreage had increased by 1939 to 570,000. Not only does the tea trade represent Ceylon's biggest industry to-day but the island is, now, after India, the most important tea producing country in the world. The trade is one of the best organised and progressive in the world and its growing prosperity is a conspicuous instance of the success due to British initiative, skill in research, good methods of cultivation and up-to-date organisation.

The tea estates are mainly situated in the Central Highlands, many of them over 3,000 ft. above sea-level, but provided there is evenly distributed and fairly even rainfall, the crop can be grown right down to sea-level. The amount of tea produced per acre varies between 300 to 1,200 lbs. Apart from what is used for home needs, the amount exported represented nearly 65% of the total exports of the island in pre-war days. Ceylon normally produces 30% of the total amount of tea exported from the countries which come under the Tea Regulation Scheme. Great Britain has always been Ceylon's best customer and during the war, from 1940, the U.K. Government has bought all the tea that the island could produce. In 1941 this amounted to 138 million lbs. and it has since been substantially increased with benefit to the peoples of both countries.

RUBBER

Rubber is another example of the successful acclimatisation of a product not native to Ceylon. It was introduced into the island from Kew in 1876 but did not make much progress until about 1899 when the industry was revolutionised as the result of experiments carried out at the Ceylon Botanic Gardens. The new methods enabled the industry to seize the opportunity of the big demand for rubber by the rapidly expanding motor industry of the U.S.A. and the area planted rose from 1,071 acres in 1898 to 600,000 acres in 1939. Before the war Ceylon was producing about 7% of the world's supply and with the fall of Malaya the crop became of fundamental importance to Allied war transport. Everything possible has been done to encourage local planters and improve methods, and output during the war has greatly increased.

The rubber estates are situated in the lowlands and lower slopes of the hills, mainly in the south-west of the island, often on steep valley sides. As in the case of tea, the plantations are largely dependent for their labour on Tamil immigrants from India.

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COCONUTS

The coconut palm grows best at sea level and the districts where it is most extensively cultivated centre round Colombo. It is exported in the form of copra, coconut oil, coir (fibre), etc. Before the war Ceylon copra was reputed to be the best in the world. At the beginning of the war it was practically unwanted and the limits of shipping space made things still more difficult. But by 1940 a new market was opened up in India where industries dependent on copra expanded to meet war needs. With the loss of oil from Penang and Netherlands East Indies Ceylon has become an important source of supply for those new industries. The greater part of the cultivation is in Sinhalese hands and much could be done to increase output by better methods. The Department of Agriculture has been trying to achieve this by research and by propaganda among the cultivators but they have been slow to take advantage of the proffered help and much remains to be done.

RICE

Rice is grown on the low, wet land, mostly in the west and south-west where two crops a year are harvested, one after each monsoon. In the east and north the crop depends on irrigation from the " tanks " (artificial lakes) and although much valuable work has been done by the Government after centuries of neglect to put these into repair, the country is still incapable of producing all that is needed for the native and immigrant populations whose staple food it is. Before the war the chief import of Ceylon was rice from Burma and the loss of this main source of food supply has hit Ceylon seriously. The Government has taken the situation in hand and by various measures has increased local production both of rice and other crops. Controlled distribution and rationing have helped to secure adequate food for the people in wartime.

FISHING

Fish as a source of food is limited by the fact that the native " catamaran " (a boat constructed of three logs slung together), though unsinkable, can hardly be looked on as a practical commercial undertaking since the fishermen themselves are liable to be swept overboard when there is anything of a sea. For this reason what fish is used for food has been mostly imported from the neighbouring islands of the Maldive Archipelago. Here again efforts are being made to increase the food supplies by introducing a more satisfactory method of work.

PEARL FISHING

The best pearl fishing is in the gulf to the south of the Mannar Peninsula. Fisheries are under Government control and are held in certain years only when the oysters are in sufficient numbers. They are retrieved by expert Tamil divers who go down five to ten fathoms. The shells are then left to rot and the pearls recovered from the

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washings. Those from Mannar are the finest specimens which are exported by the Moorish dealers, the island's traditional dealers in precious stones. In the Bay of Trincomalee pearls of an inferior type are found and used for sale among the islanders.

MINERALS

The chief mineral of importance in Ceylon is plumbago (graphite) of which Ceylon used to export 14% of the world output. In peace-time this is used in the manufacture of various commercial products such as stove polish, lubricants, paint and lead pencils. Since the war there has been a great demand for graphite since it is used in the manufacture of munitions. From 1932-35 the principal market was Japan but now the U.S.A. is taking most of the output.

Apart from the trade in precious stones—rubies, sapphires, etc.—found on the south-west slopes of the central hills, no other mineral is at present of any commercial importance but, recent research has reported that there is high quality iron-ore and pure quartz sand in considerable quantities and this may influence future industrial developments in the island.

BRITISH CONTRIBUTION TO CEYLON'S ECONOMIC PROGRESS

In the early days of British rule Ceylon's prosperity depended on a single crop—coffee—and a failure in that one product could have a disastrous effect on the fate of its people. By the introduction of tea and rubber, and the development of the coconut palm the island is now assured of three main crops. In addition to these a number of subsidiary crops are being encouraged, such as cacao, cardamoms and cinnamon, so that the danger of a slump in any one product is reduced.

By the introduction of scientific methods, by irrigation and by the construction of the roads and railways, the importance of which can hardly be exaggerated, a sound background for prosperity has been assured.

Of recent years a definite policy has been followed of developing all resources of the island with the object of producing locally, from local materials, as much as possible of the local needs. The main object must always be to establish a staple agriculture since this is essentially the basis of Ceylon's prosperity. But in order to improve the general level of living conditions and to check the drift to the towns, a problem Ceylon shares with most modern communities, the Government is trying to stimulate development on two lines which it is hoped will bring new life into outlying districts. One of these two is cottage crafts — pottery, weaving, etc.—this would apply mainly to the women and is therefore limited in scope. The other is the establishment of light industries which would necessitate the building of factories. By careful planning it is hoped to avoid the evils of overcrowding, etc., which have so often followed industrial

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development. Government financial aid is being given to stimulate private enterprise along these lines and a start has already been made. Cloth-weaving factories have been established at Moratuwa and Jaffna, the yarn for which is imported from India. A steel-rolling factory was erected in 1941 at a cost of 270,000 rupees to turn scrap metal to productive uses. But most important of all for the future of the island are the factories to make use of the island's raw products, such as the coconut: to produce soap, coir, paper boards, etc.

With the help of British skill and organising experience to guide her, Ceylon should thus be able to look forward after the war to an era of growing prosperity with a stable economy balancing the needs of her export trade and those of her own population. In a world increasingly dependent on communications she holds a key place. As part of the British Empire she stands to benefit in the future, as in the past, by the accumulated knowledge and skill drawn from experience in every part of the globe.

In the period during which the main control has been in her hands Britain has shown Ceylon the way to material prosperity. That prosperity has been largely due to British enterprise and skill and powers of organisation and has been of benefit to both partners. But it is not the whole of the British story in Ceylon. In the process of opening up the island's resources, Britain has in her work of education and social services and political organisation, raised the whole level of life in the island. Now that the time is approaching when the people of Ceylon are to take control of internal affairs in the island into their own hands, both countries will benefit from that wider view that Britain has taken of her colonial responsibilities.

May, 1944.

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PART II

ITS PEOPLES AND HISTORY

I. THE PEOPLES

The fact of Ceylon's geographic position at the junction of world routes in the Far East is reflected both in its population and its history. In this small island, about half the size of England, there are gathered together peoples of many different origins (including, it is calculated, altogether representatives of 70 different races), at widely differing stages of civilisation, speaking many languages and each with its own religious, cultural and historic background.

In 1931 the total population of Ceylon was 5,312,548 which was an increase of 17.9% over the figures for 1921. This represents a fairly dense population for this size of island—somewhere above the density of a country like Denmark but below that of Japan.

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RACES

1. *Sinhalese.* By far the largest proportion of the population, some 3,300,000, are the Sinhalese, a race that came from Southern India as far back as 500 B.C. and absorbed or destroyed all but a very few of the original inhabitants. A few of these, the Veddahs—a primitive pygmy people—still exist in small groups in the highlands. The Sinhalese are one of the most attractive peoples of the east, red-brown to bright gold in colour, approximating rather more in build to the north European type than the people of north India. During the centuries since their conquest of the island, they have become differentiated into two groups. Those who settled in the central district in the old Kandyan Kingdom developed the characteristics of a mountain people, proud and muscular and disdainful of working for anyone except themselves or their own chieftain, whereas those of the low-lying coastal areas who engage mostly in fishing and cart driving are a less virile people. Both groups have retained much

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of the peasant tradition and though they may go out by day and work in the plantations, at night they return each to his own cottage and depend partly on their own crops, particularly on the coconut-palm which produces a large part of their needs both for food, clothing and shelter.

2. *Tamils.* The next largest group is the Tamils, numbering roughly about 1,400,000. Owing to the unwillingness of the Sinhalese to work on the plantations it is from the Tamils who have immigrated from Southern India that the bulk of the labour for the estates is drawn. Some of these are descendants of immigrants who came over in the distant past as conquerors, driving the Sinhalese to the south and establishing themselves in the northern plain district. Others represent the result of immigration during the past century of those who have come to work on the plantations. Of these many retain their ties with the mainland and return there for holidays and in old age, but an increasing number tend to settle permanently and the original immigrant labour force is gradually being absorbed into the permanent population. These are known as the Ceylon Tamils. In addition there are about 700,000 other Tamils who have come over recently and form a distinct Indian Community. With the threat of attack from Japan during the war, a number of these returned to the mainland.

The Tamils are a quick tempered race and apt to be difficult and hostile to the Europeans employing them, though their deftness and skill make them the best estate workers.

Both Sinhalese and Tamils love bright colours, especially gay cottons. These both men and women wear wrapped around them as a skirt which, with a simple form of bodice, constitutes the usual mode of dress. There is a big contrast between the townspeople and those of the villages. The townspeople have naturally come more under western influence and have adopted many of the ways of an industrialised community, but the villagers still supply most of their simple needs—food, dress, housing materials and implements—from the coconut-palm.

3. *Moors.* Next in size to the Sinhalese and Tamils, is the Moorish population, about 325,000. These are mostly descendants of Arabs who came over centuries ago from the Malabar coast of India. They are the traders of Ceylon, dealing especially in precious stones and pearls of which they have almost a monopoly.

4. *Other groups.* The so-called Burghers, descendants of the old Portuguese and Dutch inhabitants mixed with local strains, represent about 32,315. The Malays, a still smaller group of about 15,000, are considered the back-bone of the native police force.

In addition to 32,000 odd people of various races there remains the European population of under 10,000, a mere handful when compared with the total of over five million.

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RELIGIONS

The religions of the peoples of Ceylon correspond roughly to the various racial groups. The Sinhalese represent the predominant Buddhist element. The Tamils are largely Hindu, the Moors Mohammedan and the Christian element (95% of which is Roman Catholic) includes not only Europeans but native converts from the days of Portuguese predominance.

When the British took over the rule of Ceylon, they promised the island religious toleration. It is one thing to make such a promise, another to prove capable of fulfilling it; but thanks to the strength of British rule and the strict impartiality with which religious matters have been approached, the peoples of all these widely differing faiths have been able to practise in complete freedom side by side in one small island.

LANGUAGES

The two chief vernacular languages are Sinhalese and Tamil, the former spoken by the Sinhalese who inhabit chiefly the western, central and southern parts of the island, and the latter by the Tamils in the northern and eastern districts and by the immigrant population on the estates. English is generally spoken by the middle and upper classes of all communities.

II. THE HISTORY OF CEYLON

SINHALESE PERIOD. 500 B.C.—about A.D. 1500

The word Sinhalese derives from an Indian word " Sinha," meaning " lion," and the ancient legends of the people claim descent of their race from the union of a princess with the king of beasts. Putting mere legend aside, it is certain that their race has a long and colourful history and that in those far-off times they must have possessed the qualities of courage and adventure we associate with our own Richard Lion-heart. The period of Sinhalese conquest of Ceylon dates back to 500 B.C. and they held complete control of the country, except for incursions by tribes from India, until the 16th century.

The first part of that time, up to about A.D. 300, was a period of an increasing civilisation which took its colour from the kindly tolerant faith of Buddhism introduced in 247 B.C. By the third century A.D. there was an agrarian civilisation of a quite advanced order. The dry northern plains, irrigated by an elaborate system of " tanks " (artificial lakes) provided more than sufficient food for the island and grain was at the time sent to the mainland of Asia. Elaborate temples and monuments which have been rescued from neglect and decay by British excavators, are evidence of their skill in architecture, and literature is represented by a number of poems and legendary records still extant.

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From A.D. 300 to the 16th century, the stability of the old Sinhalese régime was threatened more and more by incursions of tribes from India. This was a period of constant strife and gradual decay of the system of agriculture and religion on which their society was based. The "tanks" fell into decay. The temples commemorating the attainment of Buddhahood of Gautama at Anaradhapura, and the "Temple of the Tooth" at Kandy, were neglected and became lost in jungle. The glory of the "lion-people" was forgotten even by themselves.

The later history of the Kings of Kandy is one long record of crime and fighting against invading tribes, who gradually established themselves in the northern part of the island, and among the island kings themselves.

PORTUGUESE PERIOD (Circa 1500—1600)

When the first Portuguese, Franciso de Almeida, visited the island in 1505, he found it divided into seven kingdoms, each at odds with the other. Settlements were made on the coasts and a fort erected at Colombo and the Portuguese maintained their interests in the island for a hundred years. Fervently Roman Catholic, at a time when religious toleration was interpreted as lack of faith rather than as a virtue and, when the Inquisition was an accepted power in Europe, the Portuguese set out to convert the island. The cruelty of these early settlers, especially towards the Moors—hereditary enemies of their faith and rivals in the trade of the island—led to much hatred and bitterness and when Dutch and British traders began to make their way into the Indian Ocean they were welcomed as deliverers.

DUTCH PERIOD (Circa 1600—1796)

In 1602 the Dutch Admiral Spilberg landed on the east coast and was welcomed by the King of Kandy. By 1658 the Dutch had destroyed the Portuguese forts and occupied the whole of the coastal districts, leaving the Kingdom of Kandy, in the central mountains, untouched.

The new conquerors proceeded to organise the country in a way the Portuguese had not attempted to do. Roman-Dutch law was introduced, much of which has become incorporated in the local traditions and customs observed up to the present day. Public works were undertaken, houses and public offices built, many of which survive to-day.

The Dutch were tolerant to all religions except Roman Catholicism. This they persecuted, but without effect. In spite of the cruelty of the Portuguese at that period, the converted islanders had found a warmth in the religion they brought which was lacking in the outlook of their new rulers. Though the Dutch gave them personal security and justice according to a rough and ready standard, they looked on the native population merely as a means of adding to the profits of trade. They

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taxed the island heavily and made no attempt at undertaking measures to improve the happiness or development of the people. As far as it went, the régime was neither unjust nor greatly oppressive. They were unimpeachably honest and efficient and this characteristic is still seen in their descendants to-day. But the important thing for the Dutch in Ceylon was the cinnamon monopoly, not the good of the people by whose labours they profited. It was for this reason that when the struggle with the British came, the Sinhalese felt no call of loyalty to support a power they had known mainly as collectors of taxes. The era of Dutch control ended, not because its administration was inefficient or particularly hated, but because a narrowly commercial outlook had failed to establish bonds of common interest and loyalty between ruler and ruled.

THE COMING OF THE BRITISH (1795-96)

As a result of Clive's conquests in India, the centre of British power had shifted from the west coast to the east and great need was felt for a naval base commanding the Bay of Bengal. There was no harbour on the east coast of India that seemed suitable for conversion to a naval base and several approaches were made to the King of Kandy with the object of obtaining such a base in Ceylon, but with the Dutch already in possession of the only suitable sites, nothing was able to be done.

When, however, in 1795 Holland joined France in the war against Britain it was decided to attempt the conquest of Ceylon, and a British fleet set sail from Madras. At the same time an ambassador was sent to the King of Kandy and with his co-operation the Dutch settlements were captured without any very great resistance and the island, except for the Kingdom of Kandy, passed into British hands in 1796.

The terms on which the Dutch surrendered provided for complete surrender of all Dutch dependencies in Ceylon but every effort was made to avoid dislocation of life in the island. All clergy were permitted to remain as before and judges empowered to remain in office for a period of twelve months. Officials were at liberty to continue to live in the island as private individuals and many were even retained in office. Private property was declared inviolable and all citizens were free to carry on their lives as before. In point of fact most Dutch civilians who had capital went to Batavia while those of mixed blood remained on the island. By imposing such moderate terms Britain succeeded in winning the loyalty of the Dutch who stayed on and who, from their knowledge of the native languages and experience of local administration, were able to give valuable service particularly in the clerical work.

For the time being Ceylon was made a dependency of the Madras Presidency, but six years later, in 1802, when the island was formally ceded to Great Britain by the Treaty of Amiens, it was separated from Madras and constituted a Crown Colony.

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For the next twelve years the Kingdom of Kandy continued its independent existence in the central mountains, but in 1815 the chiefs rose in rebellion against their king, whose cruelties had become unendurable. They appealed for help to rid themselves of their tyrant and voluntarily handed over the Kingdom to Britain in return for a promise that their religious and civil liberties should be guaranteed and their existing customs respected and maintained.

With the fall of the King of Kandy the whole of Ceylon passed under British rule and from that time to the present day, with the exception of one or two minor disturbances in the early years, the island has enjoyed over a century and a quarter of peaceful progress.

THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE NATIONS TO CEYLON

Ceylon, as seen to-day, presents a unique pattern of the mingling of east and west in this small island where the highways of the sea meet and so many races have taken part in her history. Against the main background of the Sinhalese Buddhist tradition the parts that each newcomer has played in the scene stand out in clear outline. Every stage in the progress of society is represented in the island. Within a hundred miles of the cosmopolitan hotels of Colombo, where the business of a great port is conducted with all the services of modern industrialised commerce, the primitive Veddahs still live their shy, retiring life much as did their ancestors of over two thousand years ago. In the mountains of flower-fragrant Kandy the yellow-robed priests of Buddha still guard the sacred "Temple of the Tooth" to which, under the August moon, there comes the procession of Perahera, with elephants, cymbals, and tom-toms—the pageantry of a people celebrating a past that looks back beyond the Christian era. The Portuguese have left evidence of their quick, peninsular blood in their religion and the intimate legacy of a few Christian names, oddly contrasted with memories of bitterness and cruelty. From the Dutch period there remains the basis of local administration and custom, relic of their system of Roman Dutch law, a few canals and a number of public buildings and houses with their characteristic architecture. Part of the varied scene also, though they have left no tangible evidence in the structure of the social background, are the Tamil estate workers and pearl divers and the Moorish tradesmen.

THE BRITISH CONTRIBUTION

What of the part the British people have played, the latest comers to the scene, a mere handful of people in this community of over five million?

When Ceylon first came under British rule the inhabitants were given a guarantee of religious toleration, of personal freedom and the maintenance of existing customs. That promise has not only been fulfilled. It has been very greatly exceeded. Even in the less advanced days of the 18th century the British character did not lend itself to ruthless suppression of a conquered enemy, and in attaining their

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admitted ends of achieving an inportant strategic base and a new source of trade, they have accepted fully the responsibility for the welfare of the peoples whose fate came under their control.

A hundred years ago the inhabitants of Ceylon were no more than a haphazard gathering of heterogeneous peoples, separated by race, religion, tradition and interests. The only thing they had in common was that fate had cast them together on a single island. To-day they are on the way to becoming a fully integrated social community and from this fact alone Britain can be justly proud of the part the Empire has played in Ceylon.

"The power of incorporating alien races, without trying to disintegrate them or rob them of their individuality, is characteristic of the British Imperial system. It is not by what it takes away but by what it gives, not by depriving them of their own character, language, and traditions, but by ensuring them the retention of all these, and at the same time opening new vistas of culture and advancement, that it seeks to win them to itself."

Viscount Milner, 1913.

The contribution of the British among the races of Ceylon can be summed up under three headings; security, prosperity, and the power of synthesis. The three are interdependent. By the strong protection of the Empire over more than a century of peace the development of material resources has been able to make steady progress. The splendid system of roads and railways and the magnificent harbour of Colombo have opened the ways to trade. Intelligent enterprise, skilled research and experienced organisation have built up a stable and prosperous economy. Educational, medical and social services have materially advanced the welfare of the people. In all this there has been no harsh suppression of racial tradition. On the contrary, in this era of peace and security, the inhabitants have been free to develop according to their own genius. An amusing illustration of the complete religious toleration under British rule is the conflicting interpretations given to the hollow rock that crowns the famous Adam's Peak by the members of different faiths. To the Buddhists it represents the footprint of Gautama, to the Brahmins of Siva. The Mohammedans look on it as the footprint of Adam, while the Portuguese Christians are divided as to whether St. Thomas or the Eunuch of Queen Candace of Ethiopia, is to be held responsible. Whatever the truth of the legends, the priests of the monastery that guards the holy footprint for pilgrims of all faiths to visit, have in their keeping the symbol of an all-important truth—the freedom for each to seek truth in his own way.

This freedom is one important contribution that Britain has made to the people of Ceylon. Nor is it an entirely negative one of non-interference. It is due to the expert knowledge and enthusiasm of British excavators that the old monuments and temples of the Sinhalese period have been restored. It is thanks to the British—themselves inheritors of a long and proud tradition in which the insignia of the

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lion also features—that the Sinhalese—the lion-people—have made the stimulating re-discovery of their own history and tradition. The temples have been restored and—as a result of practical measures for land development—the " tanks " once more put into use. Now, once again the sacred mountain, the ruins of the Temple of Anaradhapura and the Temple of the Tooth at Kandy (the tooth of Buddha which the Sinhalese regard as a symbol of the fate of their nation) are monthly objects of pilgrimage for thousands of devout worshippers. Only recently the languages of Sinhalese and Tamil have been adopted as subjects of study in the new University of Colombo. The Sinhalese are once more aware of their own past and as a result are awaking to a national consciousness and becoming eager to take a more active part in the control of their own lives. This new consciousness has brought difficulties by stressing community antagonisms, but it is a sign of virility and expanding consciousness and will in the long run have its own individual contribution to make to the colourful pattern of a partnership of free peoples, living their independent lives within a framework based firmly on common ideals and interests.

It is no easy task to balance the conflicting interests of so many different groups, and mistakes, especially in the early days, have inevitably been made, but, on the whole, the Government has been successful in preserving its position as arbiter to balance the claims of the European colonists and the native races. There has been no question of its regarding itself solely or even primarily as the protector of the planters' interests. On the contrary, it has worked in accordance with the fundamental ideals on which the British Empire is based :— " The principle that British liberty and British constitutional rights were not the exclusive patrimony and privilege of the inhabitants of Great Britain and their descendants at home and overseas, but that they might fully belong to all those under the British flag who were equal to the responsibilities entailed by them."

Alfred Zimmern, 1926.

Ceylon to-day is an integrated community with a constitution well advanced towards complete control of its own affairs, functioning through universal suffrage and elected representatives responsible to the people. Out of the separate antagonistic elements a nation is in process of evolution. In the testing hour of war she has already proved herself eager to respond to the new responsibilities. In contrast with the reaction to the threat to the Dutch in the 18th century, Ceylon rallied with all resources to the cause of the British Empire even before there was any direct threat to her own shores. This is the best possible proof that she values her part as partner in a Great Empire on one of whose chief highways she stands guard.

May, 1944.

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PART III

PROGRESS UNDER BRITISH RULE

I. CONSTITUTIONAL PROGRESS

Of all the dependencies that still form part of the Colonial Empire, Ceylon has progressed furthest towards self-government. At the present time the legislative and executive functions of government are carried out by a Council with a large majority of elected members, and, with very few exceptions, every person in the island who has reached the age of 21, man or woman, and of whatever race, has the right to vote. By a promise, first given in 1941 and re-stated by the Secretary of State for the Colonies in the House of Commons on 26th July, 1943, the United Kingdom is pledged to a re-examination of the Ceylon Constitution as soon as possible after the war. This is the latest chapter in the long story of evolution towards self-government which has been slowly progressing in spite of many difficulties, over the century and a quarter of British rule. It brings to Ceylon the early prospect, if not of full Dominion status, at least of "full responsible government under the Crown in all matters of internal, civil administration."

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THE PROBLEMS

There are many problems both external, and internal with regard to the granting of complete self-government to any particular Colony and this is very much the case with Ceylon.

From considerations of defence, each partner in the Empire must be considered in its relation to the whole and to its ability to resist aggression which, if successful, might prove fatal not only to the whole fabric of the British Commonwealth of Nations, but the cause of free peoples all over the world. In that respect Great Britain must accept the onus of the defence of every member unless it is strong enough to take full responsibility itself.

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With regard, also, to its internal affairs, circumstances arising out of the island's history make the problem of granting self-government far from a simple one. A democratic form of government is not a machine that can be "manufactured in Great Britain" ready for export and set up in full working order without consideration of the character or history of the people it is intended to serve. Rather is it a slow, and sometimes painful, living growth that can only succeed if it is a closely harmonised part of the evolving society itself and is in keeping with the stage of development which the mass of the people have attained. The freedom of all peoples to control their own lives has never ceased to be the British ideal, but the exact form that control should take cannot be predetermined nor its inauguration hurried. It must develop in its own way from the needs and circumstances of each particular case. Democracy as it exists in Great Britain to-day is the result of centuries of indigenous growth. The constitution of a nation, like its religion, its art and social structure, must, if it is to have strength and the power of vital growth, be firmly rooted in the minds and hearts of its people. The form existing in the mother country is not necessarily that most suited to the needs of every member of the Empire.

In the case of Ceylon, the Crown Colony form of government was inevitable in the early stages of British rule. What the island needed most of all was a strong government that could protect her from outside aggression and establish conditions of security which are the first essentials for material or mental progress.

"The principal bar to the establishment of representative governments in Colonies is their being inhabited by a population of which a large proportion is not of European race, and has not made such progress in civilisation as to be capable of exercising with advantages the privileges of self-government. Of such Ceylon affords the best example. The great majority of its inhabitants are Asiatics . . . having the character and habits of mind which have from the earliest times prevented popular governments from taking root and flourishing amongst natives of the East."

Earl Grey, "Colonial Policy."

The fact that complete self-government has even yet not been considered possible in Ceylon is no argument against the home government's firm conviction that it is theoretically desirable and of the sincere intention to do everything possible to prepare the way to its fulfilment. Of this both the history of other former Colonies, now Dominions, and the history of all that has been done in Ceylon itself, are convincing proof.

But being a practical people, the British have from the beginning conceived of their duties with regard to Ceylon rather as furthering the welfare and happiness of actual living people than as the granting of theoretical "rights." They set themselves to develop trade and commerce, to improve agriculture and social services, health and education.

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For more than 2,000 years before the British took over at the start of the 19th century, Ceylon had an absolute monarchy with the practice of torture, forced labour and arbitrary taxation. The numbers of different races and religions have made it difficult for the island to achieve any corporate feeling as a whole since each separate community has tended to stress its own racial and religious allegiance at the expense of others. Consequently the Government has had to assume the protection of the weaker groups. In the early days it was the European group of planters who, though numerically far inferior, were in the position of greatest power. With the progress of general prosperity and education it is the Sinhalese party—the numerically largest single group—which in later years has tended to stress its own interests at the expense of the others. Thus in the early days the Government's task was to balance the conflicting claims of the planters, the native aristocracy and priesthood and the native headmen, while in the later stages, during the period that representational government has been in process of development, it has been to guard against putting the smaller communities into the power of the larger ones until such time as the people as a whole should develop the sense of national consciousness and responsibility.

In spite of these difficulties a gradual process of handing over control to the people of the island has taken place and over the past 20 years bold experiments in political education have been made. Where these have proved inadequate or unsuited to Ceylon's particular circumstances, they have been discarded and new methods have been evolved.

HISTORY OF THE CONSTITUTION

In the earliest days of British rule Ceylon was part of the Madras Presidency and bad mistakes were made in substituting the Madras system for the native traditional methods of land tenure and taxation which had been in force under Dutch rule. This led to considerable trouble and a serious revolt in 1797-8. It is proof of the good faith and good sense of the home Government that investigations were immediately set on foot to diagnose the causes of the trouble and as soon as the position was understood, the ancient system was restored, the island removed from the Madras jurisdiction and given a separate Governor-General, and shortly after, in 1802, was constituted a Crown Colony with a Governor, Advisory Council, a separate Civil Service, Land Survey, Public Works and Medical Department. It is thus evident that even in those early days, the U.K. Government was fully alive to its responsibilities towards the people of Ceylon.

In the early years of British administration the island owed much of its rapid increase of prosperity to the devoted work of one of its Governors, General Maitland, a very able financier and administrator, who in the five years of his office (1806-11) revolutionised the life of the island. By a searching revision of the conditions of the Civil Service and strict control of expenditure, he set up a high standard of efficiency. He encouraged the study of the native languages and

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local conditions, in this way not only ensuring a greater understanding of the people's needs, but lessening the power of the headsmen in the villages, at that time practically unlimited. He abolished torture and made Government approval the necessary condition of the death sentence.

In 1833 a big step forward was taken in giving the people a more active part in the legislative and executive work of the government of their country. It was then decided that " the public service should be freely open to all classes of persons according to their qualifications " and that " the unrestricted admission of natives of all classes to the Judicial Civil Offices open to Europeans when they may possess or acquire the necessary qualifications " was most desirable. At the same time a Legislative Council was set up containing European and native unofficial members as well as official.

Up to about the time of the First World War the dominant community in Ceylon was the European one, and it was from them that the first demands for self-government came. But in the course of the present century the native communities have also become vocal on this issue. It is a point of interest in considering Britain's relations to her Colonies, that it was not until the spade work on education and social conditions had begun to take effect that the native peoples began to reach a stage at which political consciousness evolved, so that what might appear to a casual view to constitute a criticism of British rule is in fact a firm proof of the efficiency of service she had already afforded to native populations.

The instrument through which the native demands were voiced was the Ceylon National Association, but in spite of its name the society represented not the country as a whole, not even the whole of the Sinhalese population, but merely the two million low-country Sinhalese. The one-and-a-half million Sinhalese of Kandy regarded themselves as a separate community, with separate interests. There were in addition half a million Ceylon Tamils, 312,000 Mohammedans, 700,000 Indian Tamils besides the Burghers and 10,000 odd Europeans all of whom constituted separate communities. It is the difficulty of ensuring that, in any system of representation, undue power shall not be given to one of these at the expense of others, which has constituted the greatest problem in evolving a satisfactory constitution for Ceylon.

EVOLUTION TOWARDS SELF-GOVERNMENT

In Ceylon, as in India, it is significant that the desire for self-government is to a large extent the result of Western education. The earliest impulse to development away from Crown Colony Government came, as has been pointed out, entirely from the European and Burgher elements and when the desire did spread to the native populations, it was at first confined to a very small minority who had been able to assimilate education on Western lines. It was as a result of a Petition made in 1909 by representatives of this small minority that the

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Legislative Council was remodelled to include four elected members on the principle " that the possession of Western education must be attended in future by the exercise of popular franchise."

By the end of the last war political consciousness among the Sinhalese had grown stronger and showed itself in a demand for greatly increased Sinhalese membership of the Legislative and Executive Councils. The new constitution of 1920 was the first attempt to meet the new position and accord a greater degree of self-government by providing for a majority of elected members in the Legislative Council. By a stipulation that a proportion of these were to be elected by the communities, the Government hoped to guard against the danger of the smallest communities being in the power of the largest, but this proviso drew protests from the Sinhalese—the largest community.

A new attempt to reconcile conflicting interests was made in 1924 by increasing the proportion of elected over official members, though still retaining a number to be elected by the communities. At the same time the franchise was extended, on an educational and property qualification, to 4% of the population. The Legislative Council's control of legislature and finance was almost unrestricted except for the Governor's power of veto and of enacting bills in certain cases in consultation with official members.

In spite of these attempts to help Ceylon along the difficult path of political education, the new constitution was not a success, but as before, the impasse was met by an honest determination to get at the causes of failure and to set them right. A Special Commission sent out by the Secretary of State for the Colonies in 1927-8 put down the failure to two main causes. One, the fact, that although there was a big majority of elected members in the Legislative Council, responsibility for government was in the hands of the official minority so that " those who have controlling votes do not bear responsibility for their decisions ; those who have to bear responsibility are without controlling votes." The second reason was that the attempt to educate the unofficial members in the duties of Government had failed. There was constant interference but no co-operation. Although they kept up a constant criticism of the medical, agricultural and social services by which the Government was trying to improve conditions in the island, they made no attempt at any real investigation of the facts, or constructive suggestion.

Once again the British Government was faced with the fact that so far their efforts to bring Ceylon nearer to self-government had not met with success. Once more they had the vision and courage to attempt a solution based not on a backward step or on any form of coercion, but by a bold advance that demonstrated at once their firm faith in self-government as a principle for colonial peoples equally with those of the home-land, and the wise decision that only by directly taking part in the control of its own affairs can a nation acquire the political experience and sense of responsibility necessary to successful self-government.

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It was decided to tackle the divorce of power and responsibility by a fusion of the Legislative and Executive Councils into a single State Council, and to abolish altogether communal representation which, it was realised, instead of affording protection to the minorities had only aggravated antagonisms. In addition a drastic advance to a universal franchise was proposed.

Though it was recognised that these steps could not of themselves provide a complete solution, it was hoped that by giving a voice in its own affairs to the whole nation and by increasing native responsibility in the national administration, wider sympathies and loyalties would be encouraged which might in time bridge the gulf between the small self-interested communities.

For the time being, however, it was considered essential to maintain some degree of protection for the smaller groups and for this reason the special powers of the Governor in regard to veto and enactment of bills in certain cases were retained.

PRESENT CONSTITUTION

The present constitution granted in 1931 and based on the recommendations of the 1927-8 Commission, is accordingly as follows.

Both legislative and executive functions are carried out by a single State Council consisting of:

50 elected members, in addition to a maximum of eight nominated by the Governor.

Three ex-officio Officers of State (i.e. Chief Secretary, Legal Secretary and Financial Secretary.)

All elected members are chosen on a territorial basis, thus abolishing the community basis which had been proved only to aggravate difficulties. Property and literacy qualifications for the franchise—except for Tamil immigrants—have been abolished and it now extends to all adult persons of both sexes and all races.

The total number of the electorate thus took a spectacular leap from 200,000 to 2,000,000. In 1938, seven years after the new constitution was granted the number of registered electors was nearly 2,500,000, of whom roughly half were women. This represents 43% of the total population, a proportion far and away greater than in any other part of the Colonial Empire. These figures, when looked at against the background of Ceylon's history and racial problems, show clearly that there has been no want either of goodwill or of courage in the Government's efforts to meet the very real difficulties.

For executive purposes the State Council divided itself into seven Committees whose elected Chairmen became automatically Ministers with departmental responsibility in the respective spheres: (1) Home Affairs, (2) Agriculture and Lands, (3) Local Administration, (4) Health, (5) Labour, Industry and Commerce, (6) Education, (7) Communications and Works.

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In this method of working through Committees the constitution resembles the L.C.C. and as Professor Hancock says " embodies the experience of the great municipalities, which, freed from the distractions of high politics, had been able to adopt their organisation and energies to the pressing problems of social welfare."

The three Officers of State together with the Chairmen of the Committees form the Board of Ministers, but the Officers of State are purely advisory and do not vote either on the Board or in the Council.

CRITICISMS OF THE PRESENT CONSTITUTION

The present system, in spite of the definite advances it made towards self-government, has been criticised by the Sinhalese on the grounds that the Governor's power of veto and enactment without reference to the Council has been too freely used. They have also resented the fact of the now limited control exercised by the State Council over financial matters. Under the old system the Legislative Council had almost complete control of the purse, though it escaped responsibilities for the results achieved.

It is on these grounds that a revision of the Constitution has been pressed. An example of the way in which all through Ceylon's history, disinterested suggestions for reform have been made by the British officials is a despatch from Sir Andrew Caldecote (then Governor) to the Secretary of State, published in 1938 in which he suggested the abolition of the Committees and the introduction of a Cabinet system, urging also that the minorities should be given better opportunities to gain seats.

THE FUTURE

Before any decision could be taken on this despatch the war broke out, but in 1941, in reply to demands from the Ceylon National Congress for full Dominion Status, the British Government issued a statement that the whole position would be reviewed as soon as possible after the war.

Now, with the latest Government Statement of June, 1943, the position has been further clarified. No promise, indeed, was given as to Dominion Status, but it did give a clear commitment of intentions with regard to reform. The statement, while reserving the control of foreign affairs and defence, pledges the U.K. Government to a re-examination of the " reform of the Constitutions directed towards granting the island full responsible Government under the Crown in all matters of internal civil administration." It also promises a big reduction in the classes of Bills requiring the assent of the Governor, those only to be retained which affect the property of British non-resident subjects, to currency, or those which " have evoked serious opposition by any racial or religious community and which in the Governor's opinion are likely to involve oppression or unfairness to any community." The British Government is now pledged to consider

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as soon as possible after the war any constitutional system that may be proposed that accords with these conditions and which has the approval of at least three quarters of the State Council.

Ceylon can thus look forward in the early post-war era to an almost complete control of her own internal affairs and though this may still fall short of the Sinhalese desire for Dominion Status, it is an almost startling achievement for a people which up to a little more than a century ago lived in complete ignorance of the possibilities of democracy under an absolute monarchy based on torture and enforced labour. To some, indeed, the experiment may seem almost rashly precipitate, but based as it is on the firm foundation of progress made in other spheres—agriculture, social services and education—there is every hope that such difficulties as still persist will be met and overcome by the spirit of courageous experiment and faith in values that transcend mere expediency and a form of Constitution finally evolved to meet the special needs of the island.

II. SOCIAL PROGRESS

The success of a country in its administration of a dependency cannot be judged entirely, or even mainly, by the degree of political independence the colony has achieved. The more advanced community has duties that embrace wider and deeper issues. The Government of Great Britain has fully recognised the extent of her responsibility in this respect and has made every effort to further the development of the people of Ceylon and to see that everything possible should be done to equip them to undertake the duties and burden of self-government.

The sudden impact of an industrialised civilisation, with all its vast potentialities for good and ill, on a people whose vista of history and geography have been limited to the folk tales of their own race and the limited scope of their immediate surroundings, can have bewildering and even disastrous consequences. If these are to be avoided, there must be wise restraint and sensitive dealing with the many problems that are bound to arise.

The progress towards self-government that has been made in Ceylon has a direct relation to that which has been made as a direct result of British rule in the spheres of economic and social development. Without the material prosperity the great advances in social development could not have been undertaken and without these, it would not have been possible for the Sinhalese to undertake responsibility for their own affairs even if they had reached the point of desiring to do so, which is problematic.

The extent to which the prosperity of the island's two main economic resources of tea and rubber are a direct result of British research and of energetic and efficient organisation, has already been touched on in another note.

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This and the development of agriculture must be reckoned as an integral part of the plan for Ceylon as a whole covering the fields of agriculture, social services, health and education, using the term in its widest sense. It is of no use to provide elaborate social services if the people they are intended to benefit are not sufficiently advanced to be able or willing to co-operate in carrying them out. To an even greater degree does self-government depend not only on the emergence of a limited number fitted by ability, character and training, to lead the people, but on the mass of the people having attained a degree of development at which they can co-operate with administrative measures and use their vote intelligently.

British policy with regard to the development of colonies generally has been set out in 1935 in the " Memorandum on the Education of African Communities " issued by the Advisory Committee of Education in the Colonies as follows :

" To promote the advancement of the community as a whole through the improvement of agriculture, the development of native industries, the improvement of health, the training of the people in their own affairs, and the inculcation of the ideals of citizenship and service. It must include the raising up of capable, trustworthy public spirited leaders of the people, belonging to their own race."

This approach to education in the wider sense is particularly evident in the case of Ceylon. Every effort, especially of recent years, has been made to relate measures of reform and education to the particular needs of the island. Education has not been envisaged as the mere teaching of " book learning " but has embraced a wider programme for the spreading of knowledge with regard to hygiene and health matters generally, to improved agricultural methods and to political affairs, so that the practical measures of reform which have been undertaken in all these spheres should have the intelligent co-operation of the people themselves.

EDUCATION

The provision of educational facilities in the more academic sense, both at the elementary stage and at a higher level, is of immediate importance in a country which has recently adopted universal suffrage, but even in this narrower sense of scholastic training, a liberal and elastic attitude has been increasingly adopted and every effort is being made to design both content and methods of instruction in a way that will best serve the needs of the people. It is realised that the central fact of importance for the development of the island in every sphere is the setting up of a sound and balanced agriculture and this fact has been kept well in mind in recent revisions of curricula and methods in the schools and colleges.

THE UNIVERSITY OF COLOMBO

The opening of the new University, which began to function in 1943, marks a definite landmark in the history of education in Ceylon.

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Since 1921 it has had its University College of Colombo, but this has now been incorporated with the Colombo Medical College to form an autonomous body, conducting its own examinations, and which may prove to be the nucleus of a new and independent centre of culture. The State Council authorised an initial grant of Rs. 930,000 for the University, with an additional amount to cover the transition period.

The appointment as Vice-Chancellor to the new University of Dr. Ivor Jennings, one of the United Kingdom's foremost historians, and formerly a member of the Staff of the London School of Economics, is an instance of the way in which Britain is able to benefit the less advanced communities not only by the provision of models for the basic structure of institutions whether political, industrial or educational, and of the mass of technical skill and experience which a highly developed civilisation has at its command, but also, and perhaps most importantly, by the actual presence of men equipped by the training and tradition of the older Universities to help solve the problems that are bound to arise and to establish a living bridge between the new and old.

Dr. Jennings is fully alive to the need to avoid the attempt at a mere reproduction of European conditions. He recognises that if the University is to be of value either to the island itself or to the world as a whole, its development must proceed out of the conditions of life in Ceylon. For this reason he is convinced that the study of agriculture must play a foremost part in the University not only because it is of vital importance to the life of the island itself but because the climate of Ceylon makes it a suitable centre for all kinds of experimental work on tropical agriculture that may prove of value to the world in general.

Another instance of the sincere attempt that is being made to relate the curriculum to the special needs of Ceylon is the establishment of Chairs for Sinhalese and Tamil in the Faculty of Oriental Studies.

As in the political sphere, the difficulty of reconciling the claims of different groups all of whom are anxious to see their own subjects given immediate attention is a real one and here, the advantage of some disinterested guidance can be seen in Dr. Jennings' insistence that the first essential is to establish a firm basis of general culture so that future developments may be securely rooted.

Colonel Stanley, Secretary of State for the Colonies, has stressed the constructive results that may be hoped for from a working harmony between the new Colonial Universities and those of the home country. Just as the Colonial Universities must inevitably depend in the early stages for guidance and help from the older institutions, so they may in time have much to offer from their own individual circumstances and experience. In the case of Ceylon, for instance, the unique opportunities for the study of oriental languages and problems of tropical agriculture may in the future make important contributions to the Empire's store of knowledge.

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THE SCHOOLS

Ceylon is one of the colonies in which it has been made compulsory for the estates to provide means of education for the children of employees. Besides 1,555 Government Schools there are over 3,000 others receiving official support.

In a country where so many different races are gathered together the language difficulty is a real one. Not only does it complicate the actual giving of instruction but there is also the problem of the lack of suitable reading material to form a cultural background and to keep alive in the adult the seeds of development sewn during school years. In the majority of schools in Ceylon, the teaching is given either in Sinhalese or Tamil. There are also schools in which the native languages are used for the early years and English for the later, and a third group using English only.

It has been increasingly realised that school instruction, in order to have meaning, must be related to the actual social conditions of the people's lives. An attempt to meet this need was made in 1932 in a new type of school planned on realistic lines. The object is to relate class teaching to a study of the locality in which the children live; and practical work, e.g. building, farming, digging wells, etc., carried out during the mornings outside the school is used as a basis for the classwork of the afternoon.

In 1935 a Rural Reconstruction Scheme was begun to try to stop the drift of country children to dead-end occupations in the towns. There are now 324 schools under this scheme and their influence has spread through the entire school system. Although the ordinary school subjects are taught, a big emphasis is given to practical subjects such as agriculture, building and health, and a real effort is being made to awaken the children to the permanent values and possibilities of the agrarian development on which their own and their country's well-being must depend. An important part of the scheme has been the Training of Teachers in rural crafts who, besides helping the children with their practical work, organise adult classes in agriculture, marketing, health work and civics, so providing a valuable link between the school and the general life of the community.

SOCIAL SERVICES AND GENERAL RURAL RECONSTRUCTION

As has been pointed out, the whole of the Government's plan for Ceylon's development centres round the development of agriculture and rural life and all departments—Agriculture, Public Health, Commerce and Industry, and Rural Reconstruction—are concerned in a comprehensive programme with this central aim.

To enlist the interest and enthusiasm of the people in all these matters is of vital importance. As early as 1916 a School of Tropical Agriculture had been set up to train Sinhalese members of the Department's staff and students, with a Veterinary Department to carry out research and work on cattle diseases. But Sinhalese cultivators

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have been slow to make use of the Department's services and it has been necessary to persuade them of the value of new products and improved methods by means of vernacular leaflets, demonstration gardens and the work in the schools already mentioned. Wireless sets, set up in the schools and used by the whole village, and films shown by travelling cinema vans, are of great help in a country where the problem of illiteracy in the adult population is still a real one. There are also Rural Service Centres run by the Department of Commerce and Industries, with a library and reading room, where educational lectures are given, study circles and village museum organised. These centres are doing good work in popularising knowledge with regard to agriculture, care of animals, cottage industries, marketing, etc.

AGRICULTURE

The development of the agricultural resources has been the result of work in several ways. One of the most important of these is the magnificent system of roads and railways which made a definite contribution to the prosperity of Ceylon by opening up communications all over the island. There is also the direct research on tropical agriculture and popularising of improved methods, and thirdly, the important work on irrigation.

The present Department of Agriculture (so named since 1912) evolved out of the old Royal Botanic Gardens. Up to 1896 the work carried out was mainly study of flora and little attempt had been made to study plant diseases or other practical problems. But from that time dates the Department's present policy of systematic research on all problems of tropical agriculture and of the dissemination of advice to planters and Sinhalese cultivators. It is to the research on tea and rubber carried on there that the island owes the prosperity of its two main products. In 1901 an estate of 500 acres near Peradeniya was bought for use as an experimental station and in 1912 the enterprise that began with such limited aims became the present Department of Agriculture. The problem in later years has been to improve agricultural methods, marketing etc., rather than the introduction of new crops, and since the war the emphasis has been on producing an adequate supply of vegetables, rice, etc., to replace the imported rice from Burma.

IRRIGATION

One of the greatest problems of agriculture in Ceylon is the poverty of the land of the northern plain, due to centuries of neglect of the ancient irrigation system. Though the British did not do much to help in this respect in the early Crown Colony years by their failure to appreciate the value of the village councils who were, by traditional custom, responsible for seeing that the " tanks " were kept in repair, they have made consistent efforts to put things right since the value of the " tanks " became better understood, and the work that has

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been done on irrigation can be regarded as one of Britain's major contributions to Ceylon's welfare. The first serious efforts to remedy past neglect were made in 1856 under the Governorship of Sir Henry Ward. This enlightened Governor realised the importance of irrigation to any future development of the island and was responsible for the Irrigation Ordinance which set up committees to draw up records and re-establish the ancient customs and carried out restoration of the old Sinhalese " tanks " at a cost of £78,000. The work thus begun was carried forward and in 1900 a separate Irrigation Department was set up with the object of making a consistent attack on the problem and the work has gone ahead till the present day. In 1929, 153,680 acres were provided for by " Crown " irrigation works and 210,268 by small village works, largely repaired by the local " raiyats " (village councils) themselves under Government supervision. The problem, nevertheless, remains a big one and much of the Government's programme of education on agriculture is aimed at making the people realise the very real dangers of soil erosion, and persuading them to adopt improved methods of cultivation and to keep the " tanks " in repair.

HEALTH SERVICES

Ceylon is exceptionally well supplied with hospitals run both by the Government and by the estate owners and provision is made for specialist services, dentistry, maternity and eye treatment, etc. The work of preventing disease has been more difficult to carry out and here the ignorance of elementary hygiene has been a stumbling block. From the beginning of British rule one of the chief problems has been malaria which takes a yearly toll of the life and vitality of the population and stands in the way of schemes for land settlement which would otherwise have good hopes of success. As in the case of irrigation the problem was attacked early in the period of British rule by an enlightened Governor, Sir Thomas Maitland, who did manage to reduce the evil to some extent. Of later years efforts have been renewed and the problem attacked from two different angles. The two main factors in the prevalence of malaria are (1) the excessively heavy rainfall, causing large expanses of water, (2) the insanitary habits of the people.

The provision of a pure water supply in the towns and of sewage disposal schemes improved the position there but in the villages it was more difficult. In 1936 a Malaria Control Scheme was introduced and has done valuable work. During 1940 the oiling of main streams resulted in a two-thirds reduction of malaria in the Matale District.

From the second angle of educating the public in health matters the basic spade work has been done—as well as in the schools—by the Medical College established in 1870, which now provides Ceylon with its own doctors trained on a complete six year course, and with apothecaries, midwives and public health nurses. In 1938 a further effort to get to the root of the trouble was made by a scheme for training village headmen in first aid and health matters.

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HOUSING

In the matter of housing Ceylon has achieved a high standard compared with other tropical countries and especially is this so in the agricultural community. The houses here are among the best in the British Colonial Empire. The typical cottage is attractively and economically built of local materials, in most cases with walls of wattle and daub, plastered and white-washed, with roof of plaited coconut leaves or tiles. In the towns, of course, architecture is of the more solid western type, but, here the usual problems of overcrowding in a big city arise. Slum clearance schemes have made progress during the last 20 years and even during the war, a detailed survey of Colombo has been undertaken and is forming the basis for a post-war rebuilding plan.

THE RESULTS OF BRITISH RULE

Statistics can make dull reading. On the other hand they do sometimes provide eloquent proof of facts not easy to substantiate by other means. The population of Ceylon in 1823 was 751,210, whereas in 1940 it was 5,951,000. Although some part of the increase was due to immigration there has also been a definite increase in the birth rate and a decrease in both the adult and infant mortality rates. That is to say that after more than 100 years of British rule this island is able to support nearly 10 times its former population and to support them under conditions which make for healthier living. Neither of the two main crops which support this greatly increased population were in existence at the time the British took over. When outside competition and the incidence of disease and changing tastes destroyed the trade in cinnamon and coffee, the prosperity of the island must inevitably have declined if it had not been for the new crops of tea and rubber, both established as the result of British research and enterprise. By the provision of communications inside the island and the magnificent harbour which ensures the island its entrepôt trade, British engineering skill has made a further contribution to the island's prosperity. At the same time, by the work on agriculture, social services and education, the living conditions of the islanders has been materially improved.

Nor has material prosperity as we have seen, been by any means the only consideration under British jurisdiction. The resources of the United Kingdom as regards political experience, technical knowledge and administrative skill, have been made available. But perhaps the most valuable contribution of all has been the intangible one of standards and ideals conveyed by the insistence on efficiency and integrity in the mass of Civil Servants, and by the disinterested work of the succeeding Governors. No statistics can be quoted as proof in this case, but is there not in the very eagerness of the people of Ceylon to assume full responsibility for their own affairs, an eloquent proof of the fact that the fundamental qualities on which the structure of the Empire has been built up—the love of liberty and the eager enterprise of a vital energy— have flourished under its rule ?

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It is indeed, the vigorous and unhampered growth of its individual members that constitute the unique quality and strength of the Empire. It was General Smuts, at one time an open and militant opponent of the British Empire and now one of the staunchest believers in its importance for the future of the world, who said (1917):

"All the empires we have known in the past and that exist to-day are founded on the idea of assimilation, of trying to force human material into one mould. Your whole idea and basis is different. You do not want to standardise the natives of the British Empire; you want to develop them towards greater, fuller nationality . . . That is the fundamental fact we have to bear in mind—that this British Commonwealth of Nations does not stand for standardisation or denationalisation but for the fuller, richer and more various life of all the nations comprised in it."

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It is indeed, the vigorous and unhampered growth of its individual members that constitute the unique quality and strength of the Empire. It was General Smuts, at one time an open and militant opponent of the British Empire and now one of the staunchest believers in its importance for the future of the world, who said (1917):

"All the empires we have known in the past and that exist to-day are founded on the idea of assimilation, of trying to force human material into one mould. Your whole idea and basis is different. You do not want to standardise the natives of the British Empire; you want to develop them towards greater, fuller nationality . . . That is the fundamental fact we have to bear in mind—that this British Commonwealth of Nations does not stand for standardisation or denationalisation but for the fuller, richer and more various life of all the nations comprised in it."

May, 1944.

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MINISTRY OF INFORMATION

CEYLON

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PART IV

CEYLON'S PART IN THE WAR

I. THE FIRST PHASE

During the first two years of the war, before the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbour had made the wars in the west and in the east all one war across the world, the fact that Ceylon was part of an Empire at war brought no obvious threat to the " most colourful of islands", separated as it was by vast distances from the nearest theatre of operations. But from the start the Government and the people of Ceylon have fully recognised the issues at stake and have identified themselves on every side with the British Empire's fight for freedom.

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STRATEGIC IMPORTANCE

The importance of Ceylon from a strategic point of view rests on her geographical position at the juncture of the highways of the eastern oceans, in a key-position in relation to the coasts of India. This fact has long been appreciated by nations having interests in the East. As early as 1782, the French Commodore Suffren wrote :

" The importance of Ceylon is such that, if English troops captured that island, its recapture would be more important than all other conquests wherewith one could begin a war in India."

It was the lack of a harbour to defend the eastern shores of India against French warships in the Bay of Bengal that prompted the first British overtures to the King of Kandy. In the present war, in which problems of supply and transport are of such vital consequence, it is essential to ensure a free passage both for merchant and naval vessels between all parts of the Empire, between all Allied territory and their sources of raw materials. Ceylon has thus come to assume an even greater importance as a vital key-point of world communications.

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The island, with its great commercial harbour of Colombo on the west coast and the natural harbour of Trincomalee on the east, the one being upon the Indian Ocean and the other on the Bay of Bengal, commands not only the routes round southern India but also, very largely, those via the Mediterranean and Red Sea to Africa and the Pacific. Before Singapore was developed Ceylon represented the bastion of the Empire's eastern defence.

PART OF AN EMPIRE AT WAR

Even in the first phase of the war against Germany, Ceylon, though remote, could not fail, as part of an Empire whose basis both in peace and war rested on control of the seas, to be vitally affected.

The strategic importance of the island in regard to sea power has already been signalised by the re-opening in 1939, shortly before the outbreak of war, of the naval base at Trincomalee which had been closed since 1904. Ceylon's importance with regard to air power was equally recognised on the outbreak of war by the voting by the State Council of a sum of 100,000 rupees for the acquisition of land for an R.A.F. base on the island. In addition to the Empire garrison the island organised its own local defence forces and measures for Civil Defence in case of air attack were put in hand.

But it was in the economic sphere that the effects of war were more directly felt in this early period. Britain's Merchant Service was as much a part of the Empire war machine as the Royal Navy and its ships had to be conserved with the utmost economy for the basic necessities of war. This held good for the island of Ceylon no less than for that of Great Britain itself.

On the outbreak of war a system of export and import control was established, and close co-operation was maintained with the United Kingdom. Financial regulations were framed to conserve foreign exchange for use chiefly to pay for essential imports from foreign countries and to prevent exports of Colonial produce from reaching the enemy. Measures to save shipping space included strict restrictions of the import of non-essentials and of goods which could be produced locally. Taxes were levied with the purpose of controlling exports and an excess profits tax levied on all business other than agriculture and the mining of plumbago, a mineral which makes an important contribution to the Empire's munition manufactures. As a result of the restriction of imports, the food situation has since the beginning of the war been a matter of concern to the island. Like Great Britain, Ceylon depended in peacetime to a large extent on imported food. This was due, not as in Great Britain to density of population, but to the necessity of relying on irrigation over large areas in the northern dry part of the island. In 1939 a million-rupee food drive was inaugurated with a view to increasing the production of home-grown foodstuffs and so to economising shipping.

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But apart from this general participation in the financial, economic and strategic policy of the Empire as a whole, the full impact of the war on the island was not felt until December of 1941. Until this time the threat of attack was remote. There was no conscription in the island until towards the end of 1941 even for Europeans and there was no rationing of food.

In spite of the general policy of reserving Ceylon's manpower for its own defence, there have been exceptions which have enabled a limited number to take service overseas in the Empire's cause. On two occasions, in 1940 and 1941, the Ceylon Planters' Rifle Corps provided men and officers for the Rifle Brigade, Middle East, serving in Syria and Libya, and both officers and men were sent for training with the Indian Army. The first actual Sinhalese contingent to take up service overseas left the island in January, 1941, and consisted of officers and men drawn from the 1st Coast Regiment of the Ceylon Garrison Artillery.

When in May, 1941, the ranks of the R.A.S.C. were thrown open to Sinhalese recruits, the island showed its eagerness to take an active part in the Empire's defence by a ready response, and by November of the same year the fifth batch of volunteers had already completed their training. Some 2,000 served in the Middle East.

CEYLON'S FINANCIAL CONTRIBUTION

From the beginning of the war in 1939, long before Japan's attack in the Pacific made the threat to her own shores more than a remote possibility, Ceylon has made every effort to show her solidarity with the Empire in financing the war effort both by voting money for the defence of the island and by the raising of loans. Nor has her financial contribution stopped short at this. Not only has an interest free loan of two million rupees been subscribed but a direct gift of five million rupees has been handed over to the United Kingdom Government for the prosecution of the war.

In addition the people of the island have subscribed generously a total of over £750,000 to War Funds and other charities.

II. WAR AGAINST JAPAN

THE NEW THREAT

With the entry of Japan into the war, however, the perspective as seen from Ceylon, underwent a violent change. As her magnificent harbour of Colombo has been a focal point of trade routes in peacetime, so now did the island become a focal point between two vast theatres of war against Germany and against Japan, between which it was vital that the Allies should maintain full communication.

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With the fall of Hong-Kong and Singapore, the island became again the bastion of the Empire's eastern defence in conjunction with Australia. Trincomalee is now, except for Bombay, the only British naval base between Aden and Australia. The air link with Great Britain involves a single hop from Western Australia to Ceylon.

The swift extension of the Japanese-occupied zone to Malaya, the Netherlands East Indies, the Philippines, and finally to Burma, brought the menace of war into full view facing the naval base of Trincomalee across the Bay of Bengal. After a century and a quarter of peaceful progress under British protection, Ceylon found herself faced with the fact that her position in regard to the two main theatres of war made her a tempting prize in the German-Japanese plan of world conquest. The military position, early in 1942, still allowed of the possibility that the two partners of the Axis might make it their plan to join forces across the Indian Ocean to the Middle East. The possession of Ceylon would greatly have increased the chances of the success of such a plan and would have also provided an ideal base for an attack on India.

In addition to the greatly enhanced importance the island took on as a result of Japan's entry into the war with relation to the cause of the United Nations from a strategic point of view, its importance in regard to war economy was also much increased. The loss of Malaya, with its vast resources of rubber, was a serious blow in a war of mechanised armies and Ceylon's rubber output took on a proportionately increased value. From the point of view of the island itself the loss of Burma, from which a great part of the rice had been imported to meet the needs of her population, brought the economic aspect of the war far closer than it had been. Thus, from every point of view, that of Allied strategy, of the economy both of the United Nations and of the island itself, the war assumed a new urgency for Ceylon from the end of the year 1941. Conscription for Europeans was introduced, and the whole island became a military zone under a Commander-in-Chief. Food rationing was introduced and intensive efforts pushed ahead to make the utmost of the island's resources both for war purposes and to provide the needs of her own people.

CEYLON'S ECONOMIC CONTRIBUTION TO THE WAR

The chief of Ceylon's commercial products are tea, rubber, copra and plumbago. Of these the most important to Allied war economy are rubber and plumbago.

Since 1942, the entire output of plumbago (an important item in the manufacture of munitions) has been purchased by the British Ministry of Supply. In 1943 arrangements were made to take over also the entire output of Ceylon's other mineral product—mica.

Rubber, in these days of mechanised armies, is an imperative need of war transport, and everything possible has been done to raise Ceylon's

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output and so to some extent compensate for the lack of supplies from Malaya. *Ceylon now produces as much crude rubber as all other supplies now available to the United Nations put together.*

In 1939 a temporary department had been set up under the Land Commission to advise and help peasant cultivators, and assistance was given by Government grants. As a result, the 1942 figures, both for production and export, were the highest recorded for Ceylon, exports totalling 115,950 tons. So determined is the island to meet the urgent needs of war that planters have agreed to the " slaughter-tapping " (i.e. tapping so intensively as to destroy the plants in two years) one fifth of their trees and tapping the remaining four-fifths far beyond normal practice. To compensate the planters for this sacrifice in the common cause, the British Government has promised to pay for the cost of replanting the destroyed areas.

Besides these direct contributions to the United Nations' war economy Ceylon has had a difficult problem to face in the reorganisation of the island's resources to meet the food requirements of her own people. With the fall of Burma, her chief source of rice, the staple diet of the islanders, disappeared. A vast irrigation project has been put into operation with the aid of heavy machinery from the U.S.A. to bring every possible acre of land under cultivation. At the same time, quick-growing crops, bee-keeping and local fisheries are being pushed ahead.

During 1943 further steps have been taken to increase the island's food supplies by opening State Farms and helping private cultivators by providing planting machinery, etc., and by the leasing of Crown land and commandeering uncultivated land.

Meanwhile measures to ensure fair distribution of existing supplies and to eke them out as far as possible have been put into operation and a separate food supply organised for garrisoned troops so as to leave all local supplies for the islanders.

Ceylon's export trade has inevitably suffered from the need to save shipping for vital war purposes in every part of the world, but a big effort is being made to establish light industries over the island to supply local needs by turning materials, which would normally be exported in the raw state, into finished articles on the spot.

Most important among these for the future of the island are factories to turn the raw materials from the coconut palm into paper boards, toilet soap, desiccated coconut, etc. As the bulk of the plantations are in the hands of native growers, these new developments will be of special help to them. Other new manufactures include twine, condensed milk, cement, rubber and leather goods, pottery and china, and safety matches.

The setting up of these new factories is all part of a general plan set on foot before the war to establish light industries over the island and so supplement her chief products and spread prosperity over all

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districts, but the emergencies of war have quickened the process and it is hoped that the island will derive lasting benefit.

THE DEFENCE OF CEYLON

In the face of approaching Japanese menace, Vice-Admiral Sir Geoffrey Layton was on 15th March, 1942, appointed C.-in-C. of Ceylon, with all the naval, military and air forces in the island under his control. He became responsible for all branches of defence and the co-ordination of military and civil measures. The whole island was made into a military zone and organised as a stronghold of defence from sea and air attack. It is now a highly fortified base capable of playing its full part in the strategic plans of the Empire and the United Nations.

Apart from the garrison of Empire forces, Ceylon already had its own Local Defence Forces. These include the Ceylon Light Infantry, Ceylon Planters' Rifle Corps, Ceylon Engineers, Ceylon Garrison Artillery, Ceylon Medical Corps, Ceylon Royal Naval Volunteer Reserve and the Ceylon Army Service Corps.

The policy with regard to the manpower of the island has been to use all that could be spared from essential work in the defence of the island itself rather than for service abroad. Conscription has now been introduced for Europeans but not for other races. Members of all communities enrol together in the Volunteer forces.

In the old troubled days of the island's history the Sinhalese under the Kings of Kandy were first-class guerrilla fighters and though, during the period of British protection these qualities have naturally been held pretty much in abeyance, there is no doubt of the determination of all parties to unite, and that in the case of need, the old fighting spirit of the people would show itself to good effect in the defence of the island.

Members of Ceylon R.A.F.V.R. receive their preliminary training in the island and are then sent to the United Kingdom to complete it.

CEYLON'S CIVIL DEFENCE

Civil defence measures had been put in hand long before Japan's entry into the war, but in December, 1941, when attack on the island had to be reckoned as a likely possibility, a Civil Defence Commission was appointed to take over responsibility for A.R.P., evacuation, propaganda, and the maintenance of essential services. Full measures have been taken to ensure that the civilian population are prepared in case of air attack. Training in A.R.P. has been given in the school and large numbers have taken courses in first aid. The island has its Fire Brigade, its Special Constables and its air-raid shelters.

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ATTACK ON CEYLON

The testing time for Ceylon's defences came in April, 1942. With the Japanese established in Burma, Malaya and the East Indies, the position in the Andaman Islands off the coast of Burma became impossible to hold, and the British garrison was withdrawn on 12th March. When the Japanese moved in, Ceylon was right in the front-line. At 8 o'clock on the morning of Easter Sunday (1942) the sirens sounded in Colombo to give warning of enemy air attack. A force of 75 aircraft, operating from carriers with their base on the Andaman Islands, the newest victim of Japan's career of aggression, came into attack, shattering for the first time the peace of the palm-bordered lagoons. But this was not to be another of Japan's conquests. Already warned by patrols who had sighted the enemy on Good Friday, the island's defences were ready and waiting. After two-and-a-half years the island got its first chance to strike a direct blow in the Empire's cause. A.A. guns leapt into action. British fighters rose to the attack and it was not long before the qualities of the island's defences had been clearly demonstrated to the enemy.

Out of the whole attacking force of 75 aircraft, 57 were either destroyed or damaged. Two were accounted for by A.A. gunfire. Fighters brought down 25 for certain, five probably, and damaged 25 more.

The attack was confined to dive-bombing and low-flying machine-gun attacks on the harbour and the airfield and railway works at Ratmalana (eight miles South of Colombo) and though there was slight damage and some civilians killed and wounded the results obtained bore no sort of relation to the Japanese losses.

In his broadcast to the island after its first direct experience of war, Admiral Layton said: "How pleased and proud I am to be your Commander-in-Chief. It is a great piece of work, an outstanding success . . . You have had your first raid, and the people of Colombo set an example of courage and calmness which was second to none, rivalling that of the people of Great Britain, who set such a high standard . . . It is not a matter of luck that we got off so lightly. It is entirely due to the manner in which we prepared ourselves to meet this danger."

A few days later, on 9th April, the Japanese made another attempt on the island, this time at the naval base of Trincomalee. The results were equally discouraging from the enemy's point of view. Guns and fighters together accounted for 37 aircraft certainly or probably destroyed, and two damaged.

On the two raids the enemy thus lost 67 aircraft or probably destroyed which in all probability represented about one-third of his total raiding force and the island of Ceylon remained with her defences intact, still on guard at her key position in the Empire's sea-ways.

Since these two demonstrations of its power to defend itself and the routes it controls, the island has been left in peace except for a slight

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incident on 8th February, 1944, when a few bombs were dropped off the coast, causing no casualties and negligible damage.

CEYLON AS A BASE FOR OFFENCE

As the tide in the war against Japan began to veer in favour of the Allied nations, Ceylon came to be developed as an offensive base. Supplies were accumulated from Great Britain, Australia and the United States. Troops and aircraft poured into the island. Old airfields were enlarged and new ones hacked from the jungle. In his Christmas broadcast in 1942, the Commander-in-Chief said: "Ceylon is the springboard from which to launch an attack against Japan, and our fighting men are being trained for the offensive."

On 16th April, 1944, it was announced that Admiral Lord Louis Mountbatten, Supreme Allied Commander in S.E. Asia, had transferred his headquarters from New Delhi to Kandy in Ceylon. The position of Ceylon makes it a convenient centre from which to conduct operations in all parts of the Command and the fact that the island has long been the base for the Far Eastern Fleet under Admiral Somerville, suggests a further reason for its choice as operational headquarters.

On 21st April an announcement was made from the new headquarters of a successful surprise attack launched by carrier-borne aircraft with a strong naval escort against the Japanese naval installations at Sabang and the airfield at Llo-Nga in northern Sumatra, when direct hits were obtained on a number of objectives, large fires left burning, and a number of aircraft destroyed on the ground.

Thus the island of Ceylon which once had the honour to mark the point at which the Japanese advance to the west was finally halted, now holds a proud position as the centre from which is being directed the Allied offensive which is to force Japan back on her tracks eastward until the whole of the territory she has overrun is once more free from her tyranny.

May, 1944.

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Information for Speakers

THE MALAY PENINSULA

GEOGRAPHICAL POSITION

The Malay Peninsula forms the south-eastern extremity of the continent of Asia, lying in the equatorial belt just north of the Equator, between the Indian Ocean and the South China Sea.

On the west it is bounded by the Straits of Malacca, separating it from the northern part of Sumatra, while the east coast is bounded by the shallow shelf of the South China Sea. Its only land frontier is a narrow strip of Siamese territory separating it from Burma to the north.

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WHAT "MALAYA" COMPRISES

To most people the term "British Malaya" means the Straits Settlements and all that part of the Malay Peninsula which came under British influence but continued to be ruled by its independent sovereign princes with British Residents or Advisers, and which consist of the four Federated and the five Unfederated Malay States. But strictly speaking the term includes the island of Labuan off Borneo, which is one of the Straits Settlements; Brunei in North Borneo, which is an Unfederated Malay State; and the Cocos or Keeling Islands and Christmas Island to the south of Java and Sumatra, which were administratively part of the Settlement of Singapore.

If we confine the term Malaya to its common use, that is to the Peninsula only, it is convenient to think of it first in terms of divisions which resulted from history rather than geography. There are three such divisions, with three distinct administrative systems.

The Straits Settlements consist of the Island of Singapore in the extreme south; the Island of Penang off the north-west coast; and, on the mainland, Malacca and Province Wellesley, respectively situated to the south and north of the Straits of Malacca; Province Wellesley flanks the Island of Penang. (The Dindings territory, situated at the middle of the Straits of Malacca, was once part of the Colony also, but, was returned to the State of Perak in 1934).

The Federated Malay States are a block of four States, Perak (including the Dindings), Selangor, Negri Sembilan and Pahang, situated, broadly, across the centre of Malaya, and united by a treaty of Federation.

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The Unfederated Malay States comprise Perlis and Kedah in the north-west, Kelantan and Trengganu in the north-east, and Johore right at the other end of the Peninsula in the south, divided by the narrow Strait of Johore from Singapore Island.

AREA

The area of Malaya is rather over 50,000 square miles; almost exactly the same as that of England (without Wales). The greatest length of the mainland is 465 miles from north to south, the greatest width is nearly 200 miles across.

Of this total area, the Straits Settlements only account for 1,260 square miles. The Federated Malay States, of which Pahang is much the largest, comprise nearly 29,000 square miles; and the Unfederated Malay States, of which Johore is the largest and Perlis very much the smallest, a little over 22,000 square miles.

CLIMATE

There are two outstanding features of the Malayan climate. One is its sameness of temperature, which rarely registers much below or much above 90° Fahrenheit in the daytime, except in the hill districts which are somewhat cooler; at night, of course, the temperature drops a little. The other conspicuous feature is extreme dampness. It is this combination of high humidity and lack of variety, which makes the climate somewhat enervating to the European, although he is spared the extremes of heat experienced in some tropical countries.

It has been said of Malaya that " it is only possible to separate two seasons—a wet and a wetter". The terms " wet " or " dry " become therefore purely relative. There are, however, two so-called dry seasons centred in January and July in the middle of the two monsoon periods, and wet seasons—usually very wet indeed—during the intervals between the monsoons in April and October.

The average rainfall for the year is rather over 100 inches, but in places it may be as high as 270 inches.

There are constant thunderstorms; more, perhaps, than anywhere else in the world. Malaya is lucky, however, in being situated just outside the active volcano belt, and is therefore seldom subjected to anything worse than slight earth tremors.

GENERAL PICTURE

But if the climate is monotonous, Malay is otherwise a country not only of great interest but of great variety. The population is varied; Malays themselves account for less than half of it. In 1941 there were nearly 73,000 more Chinese than there were Malays; there is also a large and important Indian element, and in the wilder parts of the country there are aboriginal tribes. The fauna is rich and varied; mammals range from elephants, tigers and bears, to deer (some of them scarcely heavier than a hare) and monkeys and squirrels of many sorts and sizes; there are some 700 species of birds; there

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is a great range of insects and reptiles. The profusion of vegetation is said to include a greater number of different kinds of trees than exist in the whole of India. The country itself is full of contrasts; both artificial ones, such as the orderly rubber plantations so different from the wild jungle; and natural ones. The Cameron Highlands, the principal hill station of the future, is a fertile plateau in Pahang 4,750 feet above sea level, with beautiful scenery and many waterfalls. The coastal plains are flat and devoted to agriculture. On the west coast, especially of Perak and Selangor, are extensive mangrove swamps. On the east coast lagoons are formed by sand and thrown up by the China Sea. Limestone hills, rising from low ground and flanked by precipitous cliffs, are characteristic of many parts of Malaya, and the caves, many of them of great size, which riddle them reflect the variety of the Malayan scene. In one vast hollow of the limestone hills in Perlis there is a whole village. The Snake Cave at Batu near Kuala Lumpur in Selangor is a dark corridor infested by toads, spiders, cockroaches and white snakes. In Kinta in Perak the Chinese have used the caves as temples. And in the wildest parts of the Peninsula they are the primitive dwelling places of aborigines.

EAST AND WEST

Roughly speaking, the mountain ranges of Malaya, some formed of granite, some of quartzite and some of both, run the length of the country from north to south, and can be thought of as a sort of backbone but situated nearer to the west coast than the east. On either side of these mountain ranges, which rise in parts to over 7,000 feet, are two totally different types of country.

To the west, which is by far the most populated side, although the smaller, there is a long stretch of undulating and fertile land which has been developed out of all recognition during the present century. It is on this western side that is concentrated by far the greater part of commerce, trade, agriculture, rail and road communications and, in fact, life and movement in general.

In contrast to this, on the eastern side, there is a wild and mountainous country thick with evergreen forests that does not easily lend itself to cultivation, and a coast which is unfavourable for the building of ports and harbours. This, coupled with the fact that British influence establishing law and order had only been in force throughout the Peninsula during the last 40 to 50 years or so and that Western commerce, having naturally approached from the West, had tended to concentrate on that side of Malaya rather than to spread into the wilder and more mountainous regions, accounts for the relative lack of development on the eastern side of the Peninsula.

This marked contrast between east and west extends also to the waters on either side. The west coast, bordered by the Straits of Malacca is sheltered by the island of Sumatra 60 to 100 miles away, and its shores are characterised by ugly, crocodile-infested mud flats or mangrove swamps, relieved only by a few isolated sandy beaches. The east coast, however, has long stretches of sparkling sands, fringed

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with beautiful feathery Casuarina trees and washed clean by the clear, crested waters of the South China Sea. This beauty is the only compensation that the east coast has to offer for its shallow sandy riverbeds, difficult to navigate, and the bars of sand thrown across their mouths by the sea, which make them of little use as ports ; so that it provides no rivals to Telok Anson, for example, and Port Swettenham on the west.

NORTH AND SOUTH

A rough distinction can also be made between north and south. The Unfederated States of Perlis, Kedah, Kelantan and Trengganu, in the more rugged country of the north, are economically less developed than the Federated Malay States or Unfederated State of Johore, with its favourable position at the southern end of the Peninsula.

RIVERS

There are innumerable cataracts, streams and rivers, all of them engaged on a full-time job draining the land of its heavy rainfall. In the past the rivers were often used, and sometimes still are, as a useful means of communication.

The largest and most notable of these rivers are the Pahang and the Kelantan to the east, the main streams of which have a confusing way, in common with the many Malayan rivers, of having different names for different parts of their courses ; and the Perak, in the north-west, which maintains the same name throughout its long journey.

VEGETATION

It is perhaps due to the hot, damp and monotonous climate that there is such an astonishing variety of vegetation in Malaya.

The atmosphere in the Malayan jungle is one of damp stillness, sometimes so quiet as to be almost sinister. On the lower levels immensely tall trees of 100, or even 200 feet or more, form a vast canopy over the forests, while below them the shorter trees of 20 to 50 feet high enjoy the shade provided by their taller neighbours. Underneath these again there is an enormous variety of bamboos, canes (the well-known Malacca cane is one), ferns, herbaceous plants and mosses, the whole being hung by a profusion of climbing and parasitic plants such as orchids (about 700 different species), vines and rhododendrons, all bound together by the huge rope-like trailers which are so characteristic of the Malayan jungle.

COMMUNICATIONS

Malaya has an exceptionally good system of roads and railways, concentrated, for the most part, on the western side of the Peninsula.

(a) Rail

Before the Japanese invasion there was an express service connecting the two important trading centres of *Penang* on the north-west coast

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and *Singapore*, in the extreme south. There was also a through service from Penang to the Siamese capital, *Bangkok*.

Kuala Lumpur in Selangor, the capital of the Federated States, is conveniently situated midway between Penang and Singapore and was another important railway junction.

The east coast line terminating at the port of Tumpat connects Kota Bahru the capital of Kelantan in the north, bordering on Siam, with Singapore in the south. It was completed in 1931 and was a considerable engineering feat necessitating the construction of several very fine span bridges, such as the Guillemard Bridge, and the greater part of the route was through virgin jungle. The Line goes roughly down the centre of Malaya passing through Kelantan, Pahang, and for a short distance Negri Sembilan, where it joins the main Kuala Lumpur-Singapore line at Gemas Junction on the borders of Johore. There is also a branch line from Pasir Mas, near Kota Bahru, which connects with the Siamese Railways.

(b) Road

The almost inexhaustible supplies of granite and limestone have proved invaluable for the building of metalled roads, and an impressive net-work of roadways suitable for carrying modern heavy traffic was developed.

(c) Air

In addition to the excellent rail and road services there was an internal air service linking Singapore, Kuala Lumpur and Penang. There was also a regular air service between Singapore and London, and Singapore and Australia; as well as Penang and Singapore being stopping places on the K.L.M. (Dutch) air-route between Amsterdam and Batavia.

(d) Sea

The principal ports of Malaya were Singapore and Penang (both free ports) and Port Swettenham in the Federated State of Selangor. Through these ports there passed annually an enormous volume of traffic, not only dealing with the products of the Peninsula itself, but also particularly in the case of Singapore, acting to a large extent as a collecting and distributing ground for the entire East Indian Archipelago.

SINGAPORE

The port of Singapore, known as the "Cross-Roads of the East", used to be in sea-communication with almost every part of the inhabited world. Huge shipments of rubber and tin, the latter having been first smelted in Singapore and Penang, were being sent to Great Britain and the United States; Lancashire cotton goods were imported and re-shipped to neighbouring countries and likewise cargoes of every sort and kind arrived, and were re-distributed from all over the world.

Singapore accounted for nearly three-quarters of the total tonnage entering the ports of the Straits Settlements. The port limits covered

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an area of just over 36 square miles, and there was anchorage for an almost unlimited number of vessels, as well as five large dry docks, the largest of which measured 879 feet in length.

The total value of Straits produce transhipped at Singapore during 1937 amounted to over £7,841,000.

Being a free port there were no customs duties; nor were there any port or harbour dues.

The Island itself, which is about 26 miles long by 14 wide and which boasts one of the most cosmopolitan populations in the world, lies at the extreme southern tip of the Peninsula, 88 miles north of the Equator, and separated from the mainland by the narrow Strait of Johore.

Singapore Island was an independent kingdom of some importance during the 13th and 14th centuries, but in 1365 its capital was destroyed by the Javanese and from then on until 1819 it sank into almost total obscurity, inhabited only by a handful of fisher-folk.

In 1819 *Sir Stamford Raffles*, on behalf of the British East India Company, bought the island from the Sultan of Johore and founded what since became one of the world's greatest trading centres and, more recently, the chief British naval base in the Far East.

PENANG

Penang is a rocky island off the north-west coast of the Peninsula. The harbour lies on the east side, facing the mainland and well sheltered by the island itself.

The harbour town, which is officially called Georgetown, is more generally known as "Penang."

This is the second largest port in Malaya. It dealt with similar kinds of produce and fulfilled much the same function as Singapore only on a very much smaller scale, being in a rather less strategic position on the map, and having rather less accommodation for heavy vessels.

Like Singapore it is a free port with no customs duties or port dues.

The Island of Penang was formerly part of the State of Kedah but was handed over by the Sultan in 1786, in consideration of the protection with which the British had provided him against his enemies.

MALACCA

Malacca, as a port, is of less significance to-day; but it was the chief trading centre of the whole Archipelago when the spice trade first drew Europeans to Malaya in the 16th century. What it now lacks in commercial importance it more than makes up for in historical interest.

It was first captured by the Portuguese in 1511, who were ousted by the Dutch in 1641, and it was finally handed over to the British in 1824 in exchange for British territory in Sumatra.

There are a number of picturesque old buildings of remarkably varied design mostly Dutch or Chinese and even the remains of some

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Portuguese. In the ruins of one old Portuguese church there can still be seen an inscription recording the burial in the 16th century of *St. Francis Xavier*, " the Apostle of the Indies", who was one of the earliest Jesuit missionaries in Malaya. (His body was later transferred to Goa, in Portuguese India).

ECONOMICS

Until 1900 the profits and revenues accruing from tin formed the basis of the Malayan economy. Since the turn of the century, however, while tin had not declined, rubber by far surpassed it in value. The exploitation of these two commodities has provided the roads and the railways and the social services, and a materially richer existence for every inhabitant of the country.

AGRICULTURE

Rubber was first introduced to the East towards the end of the 19th century. Rubber seeds were sent to Malaya from the Paradeny Botanic Gardens in Ceylon where there are still a few of the original trees which were grown from seedlings sent from Kew Gardens; the original seeds having been obtained from Brazil. The advent of modern transport brought about an almost undreamt of demand for a commodity which had, up till then, only a limited value. By 1940 Malaya had 3,300,000 acres under rubber and was producing 39 per cent of the world total. Approximately 46 per cent of the estates were owned by European Companies and 54 per cent by Asiatics. The nominal value of the external sterling capital invested was over £53½ million.

Rice or " padi " as it is known, was by far the most important food crop in Malaya. Its production was entirely in the hands of small-holders, mostly Malays. There were about 725,000 acres under rice before the war, but this yielded barely 38 per cent of the requirements of such a great rice-eating country, and large quantities still had to be imported from nearby countries.

Coconuts, *oil palms* and *pineapples* ranked high among other important crops.

FISHERIES

Both fresh- and sea-water fisheries play an important part in the lives of this rice-eating people; fish, either cured or fresh, being one of the most unusual accompaniments to their rice dishes.

The fresh-water fish are of two different types: (1) those indigenous to the country, and (2) imported carp which are specially reared in fish ponds—this latter had become quite an important industry.

As regards sea-fish, there are no very large concentrations off the coasts of Malaya such as occur in colder European waters, but what they lack in quantity they more than make up for in their remarkable variety.

MINERALS

The term " mining " in Malaya is virtually synonymous with tin-mining. Here are the richest tin mines in the world. *Ipoh*,

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in the Federated State of Perak, lying in the famous Kinta Valley is the great tin-mining centre. This particular district produces about 45 per cent. of the total output of Malaya; and Malaya as a whole, in 1940, produced 36 per cent. of the world's total.

In 1938 the area alienated for tin-mining alone was over 184,000 acres.

Chinese records show that tin was known in Malaya, and was even being mined in a primitive way, as long ago as the 15th century.

In the past there was a certain production of *wolfram* in one or two of the States, but owing to an erratic market it did not acquire much importance. This is a product, however, with a very considerable wartime significance as it is used to harden artillery steel.

Some coal, bauxite, and a little gold were also mined; as well as some iron and manganese, both of which commodities were entirely exploited and mined by Japanese.

INDUSTRY

Malaya is not an important manufacturing country and is unlikely ever to become one as an insufficiency of coal will always be a hindrance to any large-scale development of industry. In Singapore and Penang, however, there was an extremely important tin smelting industry, in fact Singapore possessed the largest works of this kind in existence. Not only was the locally produced ore smelted at one or other of these two centres, but also tin from Siam, Indo-China and Burma.

Another important industry in Singapore was that of pineapple canning, which was the second largest of its kind in the world.

In addition to these there were various other small industries, mostly centred in Singapore, but they amounted to little importance in the total national economy of Malaya.

CONCLUSION

Under British influence, the Malay Peninsula developed in an astonishingly short space of time from a feudal hotchpotch suffering lawless and unsettled conditions into an orderly and prosperous land with a thriving economy and first-rate communications.

Foreign capital flowed in, immigrants flocked to enjoy security and wages higher than their own countries could offer; the rubber industry was created; the bankrupt States had large surpluses of revenue with which railways, bridges, hospitals and schools were built. The deadly scourge of malaria was brought under control and throughout this fortunate development, Britain paid strict regard both to the letter and the spirit of her treaties with the Malay States.

This peaceful and prosperous progress has had a grievous setback indeed. When Japanese injustice and rapacity is finally cleared out of Malaya, there will be much for Britain to do to help the country back on to the path which saw such happy development in the past and which holds such great promise for the future.

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MINISTRY OF INFORMATION

Information for Speakers

THE PEOPLE OF MALAYA

10/44

POPULATION AS A WHOLE

There are about 5½ million people in Malaya, or, to speak more strictly, in the Malay Peninsula, excluding the Bornean territories and the small islands which are administratively a part of Malaya. The country in which this 5½ million live is about the size of England without Wales, having an area of a little over 50,000 square miles.

The aboriginal people of Malaya are still represented by small groups of Negrito races, the oldest of which are probably the Semang. related to the Betas of the Philippines. They are generally designated in the Peninsula as Sakai, a race which is commonly supposed to have reached Malaya from Indo-China at a later date. (Total approximately 30,000).

The predominant people native to the country are, of course, the Malays, who have given their name not only to the Peninsula but to the Malay or Indonesian Archipelago more usually known as the East Indies. But though they are the largest racial group in the Malay Peninsula they do not account even for half the population; for they only number about 2 million.

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There were in 1941 more Chinese than Malays living in Malaya (2,388,858 Chinese; 2,315,953 Malays).

The Indians form the second most important immigrant race, and although they are much fewer in number than the Chinese they represent more varied types: mainly Tamils, Tolugus and Malayalis from Southern India, with a considerable number of Punjabis and some Sikhs from the north, and a smaller proportion of Bengalis.

The Chinese and the Indians together outnumber the Malays.

The rest of the population before the war was made up of some thousands of Europeans, Eurasians, Siamese, Sinhalese, and rather smaller numbers of Japanese and Arabs. A steady stream of immigrants of Malaysian stock used to pour in from Java, Sumatra and Celebes to set up small agricultural holdings.

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Since the Malays are pre-eminently the indigenous people of the Peninsula we shall consider this attractive and interesting race in more detail than the rest of the population. It is important, however, to know something of the other racial groups, more especially as the Chinese and the Indians have contributed more to the economic development and prosperity of the country than have the Malays.

THE CHINESE IN THE MALAY PENINSULA

The Chinese form the bulk of the trading, shopkeeping and labouring classes; in Singapore and elsewhere they are essentially the business element and the middle-men. In the Straits Settlements they are more than twice as numerous as any other race, and in the Federated Malay States they supplied nearly all the labour on the tin-mines; moreover, many tin mines were owned and run by Chinese. In rural districts large numbers were engaged in the rubber industry. Among less important pursuits one can instance that they used to form the staff of the majority of European households, and they are able market gardeners. While there was a large coolie section that was essentially migratory, a large part of the Chinese community are settled, with roots in the country, and have gained by their business acumen an important position in its economy.

Though the overwhelming majority of the vast immigrant Chinese population has appeared in ever-increasing numbers over the last 50 years, attracted by the fresh and varied opportunities the country provided, they were the original pioneers of tin-mining in Malaya and their records go back to the 15th century. Before the introduction of modern methods, the development of the mining industry was primarily due to their skill and industry.

The best educated and wealthiest of the Chinese community are the Straits-born Chinese. The Babas of historic Malacca are a small section, quite distinct in customs and outlook. Their ancestors settled some 300 years ago, and many of them now know nothing of the Chinese language.

Generally speaking, the Chinese prefer town life, with its greater amenities and richer variety. A large proportion of the shops in towns are Chinese-owned, though even in Malay villages the Chinese shop predominates.

It is not sufficient to mention the thrift and industry, and the valuable record over the last 100 years, of the Chinese community, without mentioning also that they spent generously not on self-indulgence, but on schools, hospitals, etc., and sent handsome remittances home to China. And no race has a higher standard of business integrity; the Chinese reputation for honesty is founded on simple fact.

THE INDIANS IN THE MALAY PENINSULA

The incoming of Indians to Malaya is of comparatively recent date. They have been largely a migratory population; the average stay of an Indian labourer on a rubber estate has been calculated as two to three years.

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Though some of the Southern Indians are traders and shopkeepers in the towns, the vast majority are labourers. They are fairly numerous on the tin mines of Perak, and the labour forces of the Public Works Department and the Municipalities were recruited almost entirely from them. But it was mainly the development of the rubber industry that has stimulated the demand for South Indian labour, which rose to about three quarters of the total estate population.

The Punjabis and Sikhs were attracted to Malaya by military or semi-military employment, police duties, etc. As time went on they brought their women folk to join them and settled down in considerable numbers to agricultural work, bullock-cart driving, posts as watchmen and so on. Many were money-lenders.

The more educated Indians were likely to be clerks in business houses or Government Departments, members of publishing houses, or teachers in the English schools, which were open to all races.

Though the Indians did play a part in town life, the majority were to be found in the country on the rubber estates, and rubber had outstripped tin as Malaya's greatest source of wealth.

OTHER IMMIGRANT ASIATIC RACES

Of other immigrant Asiatic races, the most numerous were the *Siamese*, mainly concentrated in the three States bordering on Siamese territory.

The Sinhalese, including Ceylon Tamils, formed a large proportion of the Government Clerical Service, and many were jewellers, carpenters or barbers, or worked in the country on the estates.

Before the war, almost half the *Japanese* community lived in Singapore, occupied in photography, hair-dressing and mercantile pursuits, and more essentially in espionage. In the Malay States, though mainly town-dwellers, numbers were interested in rubber-planting and important iron mines were owned and managed by Japanese. Throughout Malaya in centres however small, it was usual to find at least one Japanese hotel which the community used as a vehicle for their national traffic in women.

Because Islam is the religion of the Malays, to be considered an *Arab* conveys a social distinction. The claims of many so-called Arabs are therefore doubtful. Only in Singapore did almost all the Arab population consist of true Arabs. Some of them were very wealthy, and they and the *Jews*—of whom there were less than a thousand in all—were the largest owners of house property in the town.

EUROPEANS

The European community in Malaya formed less than 0·5 per cent of the total population. According to the census of 1931 it was then made up of 10,523 English, 2,464 Scottish, 901 Irish, 194 Welsh, 793 Australians, 168 New Zealanders, 38 Canadians, and 251 others.

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Europeans in Malaya were by no means a leisured class. The chief occupations in which they were engaged were the rubber industry, tin-mining, the legal and medical professions, commerce and the public service. Commerce was the majority occupation in the Straits Settlements, the rubber industry in the Malay States.

The British modernised the tin industry and created the rubber industry (which became by far the most valuable of these two main sources of Malaya's wealth); developed first-rate communications; brought the deadly scourge of malaria under control; built hospitals and schools. They introduced public services which added to the amenities of life; health services which increased its length and security; education which enlarged its scope and vision.

EURASIANS

The less numerous Eurasian population were essentially town-dwellers, of whom the majority lived in the Straits Settlements. Mostly they were engaged in clerical work, either in Government or commercial offices, or in the offices of the rubber estates.

INDIGENOUS MINORITIES

The Semang or Pangan

The earliest inhabitants of the Peninsula were probably the Semang or Pangan. They are negritos, very small and dark, with short, crisp curls of woolly black hair. As they have no knowledge of planting, they lead a nomadic life, and eat fruit, jungle-roots and the produce of hunting and fishing at which they are adepts. Their only manufactures are rough bamboo and rattan vessels, the fish and game traps which they set so skilfully, and bows, blow-pipes and bamboo spears. They belong to a race believed to be the true aboriginal stock of South-East Asia.

The Sakai

The Sakai, who chiefly inhabit the mountainous interior of the northern states, are believed to have emigrated originally from Indo-China. They are light-coloured and slim in build, about as tall as the average Malay, with wavy fine hair.

The Sakai are superior in culture to the Semang. They have a good knowledge of planting rice, tapioca, etc. They make elegant bamboo vessels decorated with patterns traced by the aid of fire, and loin cloths—their only garment—from the bark of trees. They are also musical, using a lute of bamboo and a very sweet-toned nose-flute and singing melodiously in chorus. Most tribes only use numerals up to three, after which the word " many " covers any quantity, though some tribes have words for four or even five.

The Jakun and the " Orang Mantra "

The Jakun or Biduanda of Negri Sembilan and Johore are an aboriginal tribe whose real language is now held to be a form of Malay.

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The 1931 census recorded on an estate in Malacca, nine "Orang Mantra" (orang is the Malay word for people or man), a distinct aboriginal tribe noted by a Dutch Governor of Malacca in the 17th century.

THE MALAYS

Broadly speaking, all brown races inhabiting Asia south of Siam and Indo-China, and the islands off South-east Asia from the Philippines southward to Java and from Sumatra eastward to Timor may be described as belonging to the Malay family—with the exception of aboriginal tribes such as the Semang and the Sakai in Malaya and the Bataks of Sumatra. Used more narrowly, the term is confined to those people who talk the Malay language and call themselves "Orang Malayu." These inhabit the whole of the Peninsula, and are spread about the archipelago where in some districts of some of the islands they are the principal race.

THEIR SEA-FARING ANCESTORS

Although in these territories they have been the dominant race for not less than a thousand years, all have a tradition that they are not indigenous but arrived by sea. Scientists support this tradition. There is a good deal of evidence that there were at least two distinct immigrations of people of Malay stock; the earliest incursions probably taking place southward from the eastern archipelago and a later one across the Straits of Malacca from Sumatra to the Malay Peninsula. Sumatra is generally held to be their place of origin.

Some examples of the sort of evidence the ethnologists and philologists have to weigh up are not too technical to interest other people. For instance, if the Malays had swept into the Peninsula from Siam and Indo-China one would expect to find weaker races, such as the Sakai, pushed southward before the newcomers instead of living in the north; while if they came south from the sea the position of the Sakai is accounted for. Then again, the view that, especially in the Peninsula where they arrived most recently, the Malays had already attained a considerable scale of culture before their arrival, is supported among much other evidence by the names they gave to certain fruits. These are compound words of a descriptive nature, indicating a stage of considerable development in the use of language. For any aboriginal race inhabiting the country such important articles of diet would have been among the first objects named; and we find primary terms in use among the indigenous Semang and Sakai, instead of the artificially-constructed terms of the Malays.

The Polynesian and Malaysian races are allied, and probably had a common origin from a Proto-Malay race, which itself originated from an earlier Indonesian race (still represented by certain isolated tribes) plus an admixture of Mongol blood. The early migrations of this parent stock is indeed one of the romances of history, for it seems that in their great sailing canoes they pressed on across thousands of miles of uncharted seas, without compasses, finding their latitude with pierced gourds containing water to make an artificial horizon.

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THE MODERN MALAYS

The modern Malays are generally considered to be descended from this Proto-Malay or Indonesian plus Mongol race, with an admixture of Chinese, Indian and Arab elements. Science does not support the Nazi view that a race can benefit by keeping its blood pure from foreign infiltration. In the south-east-Asiatic world the exclusive tribes are degenerating and dying out, and the vital race is the Malays who welcome anyone belonging to the faith of Islam. The distinguished ethnologist Edwin Loeb wrote that : " Readiness to accept the new in all its forms and variations is the true dividing line between the primitive and the civilised " ; and it rings very true to-day, when we have on the one hand the conception of United Nations in all their variety, and on the other the conception of exclusive so-called " Master Races " who appear to have turned their backs on civilisation.

HOW THE PENINSULA MALAYS LIVE

The Malays are primarily agriculturists and fishermen.

The coastal Malays are still a maritime people, and build most beautiful boats which they handle with skill and enterprise. In former unsettled times they were noted for daring acts of piracy, but they became peaceable fisher-folk and follow their calling with great ingenuity.

The majority of Malays are peasant farmers, working their own land. They have a liking for building their houses on river banks, raised some feet above the ground on piles, and they plant groves of coconuts, betelnut, sugar palm and fruit trees round. Behind the villages, rice fields usually spread ; sugar-canes, maize, tapioca, etc., are also grown in smaller quantities, but rice is the principal article of agriculture and the staple food. They fish in the rivers both for sport and variety of diet.

The Malays also work jungle produce, gutta, ratten, and various kinds of wood, some of them beautiful. A good many of the old handicrafts are very much on the decrease; mat-making, basket-making, embroidery, sometimes very lovely, is widespread, good silver-ware with foliate designs embossed in low relief is still produced, and on the eastern side of the Peninsula various types of skilled and decorative weaving persist. The wood-carving industry and the manufacture of the Kris—the typical weapon of the Malay, often very ornamental—are dying out. These signs of decline are not the result of a decay of the Malay artistic sense ; for example, weaving has decreased because of imports of cheap textiles, and the jeweller's art has all but died because of the commercial competition of Chinese and Indian jewellers.

A slight increasing tendency towards commercial pursuits has been observed of late years among the Malays, and a profession at which they excel is that of motor-car driver. But they can be described

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as essentially a people of peasants with a considerable minority of fisher-men; country-dwellers to whom town life looks restricted and arduous compared with the free-and-easy atmosphere of the village, and the independence of owning a plot of land.

APPEARANCE AND DRESS

The Malays are æsthetically pleasing; not tall, but of good build and proportion, with olive complexion, high cheekbones, straight black hair and dark eyes, and no hair on the face. Their bearing has a kind of free dignity combined with cheerfulness.

The men wear a cap or head handkerchief, a loose coat and trousers, and a sarong, which is the typical garment of both sexes and consists of a silk or cotton scarf some two yards long and one-and-a-half yards wide sown into a sort of skirt. But while the men hitch their sarongs up at the waist so that the drapery reaches but nearly to the knees, the women wear them ankle length, with short jackets.

RELIGION

The Malays are all Mohammedans, and were converted during the 12th, 14th and 15th centuries. Islam spread to the Peninsula from Sumatra, and was brought by the Persian and Arab traders who by the beginning of the 16th century held an almost exclusive monopoly of the spice trade—soon to be contested by the Portuguese.

But the Malays have retained in their belief traces of earlier influences; and the ancient " adat " or customary law, once a bulwark against the tyranny of chiefs, is still revered.

Most of the Malaysian peoples are Mohammedans, but have in common a pleasing readiness to respect anything that is sacred according to any faith. In the Malay Peninsula the Sultans are crowned not only with Mohammedan but also with Hindu, Buddhist and Chinese rites. In short, the Malays are not a fanatical people.

POSITION OF WOMEN

None of the women of any Malaysian race wear the veil, and they are by no means chattels.

The Malay women of the Peninsula are not less shrewd than women of other nations; and though in theory their position may not be high according to our standards, in fact they are active partners with the men in the business of life—and are often lively talkers.

CHARACTER AND OUTLOOK

The Malays are noted for their great courtesy. Their way of life perhaps makes the observance of this deep rooted courtesy easy to preserve, for the necessities of life can be gleaned in Malaya without the hard struggle which they exact in European countries, and the

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Malays safeguard their leisure by being content with little. Considerate and kindly themselves, they are quick to resent ridicule or anything which they construe as insult; but they are not unduly formal, and have a good deal of humour as well as an innate cheerfulness. It is easy to talk and laugh freely with Malays.

The Malays are lovers of sport and games: Association Football is popular, and Rugger has made headway of late years.

The key-word to the Malay outlook is "Senang". The most desirable thing to a Malay is to feel "Senang"; perhaps the nearest English equivalents are "at ease" or "just right"; it is not an ambitious or exacting demand, but it is in a way a very civilised one, and it implies a certain pleasantness and leisure which people whose values are different sometimes miss and unconsciously regret.

The Malays are sometimes described as indolent. It is a somewhat hasty and superficial judgment. They are an alert people, not lacking in industry and courage when they think these qualities called for, and they can become interested in work if its object is clear to them and appeals. But, though not without shrewd self-interest from day to day, the profit-making motive does not greatly move them; they would rather be happy and independent than rich; they perceive a danger of weariness and disappointment in striving for a distant goal or in sacrificing the present to the uncertain future. There is sanity as well as grace in this Malay outlook.

At the same time, while on the one hand the Malays are at a disadvantage in a competitive world and may need protection from other men's toil and grit, on the other hand they have reaped the benefit of such toil and grit in the rising standards of health, education and general welfare brought about by the economic development of their land. The money for the railways, roads, bridges, hospitals and health services, schools and public welfare in general, with which British rule in Malaya increased the length, security, comfort, interest and freedom of intercourse of life in Malaya, came from rubber and tin. The Chinese, the pioneers of tin-mining, continued to supply most of the labour after the British had introduced up-to-date methods. When the British created the rubber industry, labour was supplied by immigrants from India.

The only answer is that civilisation as we know it is greatly indebted to sweat, struggle, thrift and study, but would be a poorer thing if the value of leisure and easy contentment were forgotten. It can only be rich through infinite variety.

Stories of Malays running amuck, or as it should be spelt "amok," stabbing people with krises, have their origin in fact, but not in frequent fact. If a Malay falls into the state of desperation in which an Englishman would commit suicide—the reason for his state being possibly inadequate according to the Englishman's ideas—he sometimes runs wildly about killing people until he is killed. Such states of desperation, with whatever result, are at least as exceptional among

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the cheerful Malays as they are in England. It should be remembered too that before the British intervened in 1870 there were no lunatic asylums, so that maniacs with homicidal tendencies were allowed to roam freely. Thus running amuck, while very rare to-day, used to be much more common.

The Malays are no longer a war-like people, because under British rule wars and disorders were replaced by security and peace, and as Lord Cranborne said, " our policy for the last 50 or 60 years has been to train them " (the Malays) " not to fight." Moreover, Army discipline does not appeal to the independent individualistic Malays. The vast mass of the people were not armed or trained to resist the Japanese invasion, because we had rejected the conception of militarisation. There was, however, a Malay regiment composed of volunteers from all the Malay States which fought very well and with high courage.

LITERATURE

The Malaysian races seem to have invented writing on their own account, as many alphabets are in use among the islands, though for the writing of Malay itself Arabic characters were adopted some hundreds of years ago.

Strictly speaking the Malays have not produced much literature; that is to say that their written works of ancient days have not much value. But their folk stories handed down orally are of much greater interest; they have added to the world's store of good proverbs; and poetry is still a living art. These poems are very short affairs of one verse only; often dealing with love, in which the liver plays the part that the heart monopolises in Europe as the seat of all emotion.

> " There are charms against storms, but what is the charm against the tempest of love? When one loves, one's liver perishes, like water poured into the sea."

Another poem holds a thought familiar in the verse of all nations

> " If you, Sir, become a bird, I will become the twig of a tree; if you become a hair, I will become a jasmine posy; if you become a corpse, I will become the water to bathe it; if you become the spirit of life, I will become the flesh for it."

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Another is stranger and subtler :

> " Have no regrets for an old love ; she has become another person. Nay ! Don't break it off, let it still hang by a thread. The thread was neither tight nor loose, why sunder it ? Let not this be our last talk, let's keep the thread, be it no thicker than a hair. A broken thread can be joined, broken charcoal is broken forever. It is not easy, the divorce of love ; one feels like a buffalo, lost and astray ; one feels as if the stem of one's liver had been plucked ; one feels like a kite that waits the inspiration of the wind."

Very simple are some children's verses :

> " We're not clever at dancing ; we just dance any little dance. We're not clever at singing ; we just sing any little song. We dance into the room, dancing any little dance ; we sing together, brothers and sisters, we just sing any little song."

In spite of the use of poetry in love-making, an actual Malay proposal of marriage often consists simply of the word " Mahu ?"— " Want to ? " and the acceptance of the international sound, " Uh huh."

Some of the more sophisticated Malays get up very lively dramas ; making use, for example, of Shakespeare's plots and altering them, just as Shakespeare borrowed and altered material before them. In a presentation of " The Merchant of Venice," for instance, Jessica and Lorenzo were followed up throughout their honeymoon. Passing through a patch of jungle, Lorenzo happened to find a telephone hanging on a tree, and called up his outraged father-in-law Shylock to taunt him in a vein of broad humour. Presently the young couple turned up at the gates of Hell and the Devil gave the bridegroom ribald advice. The men and women in the scene all laughed heartily ; only Jessica looked down, playing with her handkerchief. When asked why she didn't laugh too, she replied—in evident satire of Western formality—" But I've not been introduced."

CONCLUSION

It is painful to think of the individualistic, easy-going Malays under Japanese regimentation and exploitation ; of the hardworking Chinese and Indians robbed of the fruit of their labours, spied on and insecure ; most painful to think that, involved as we were with our overwhelming

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commitments and perils in Europe, we could not save them from that temporary fate. But already the Japanese have been forced onto the defensive. The clock moves on, and the great Allied Offensive is building up, to be launched in due course with resounding might. It is the declared purpose of the free nations to fight on till the unconditional surrender of the enemies of mankind; till all men can work in liberty and honourable security, and the conception of being "Senang" or at ease can return to a world set free.

July, 1944

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THE STORY OF THE MALAY PENINSULA

PART I

BEFORE THE SECOND WORLD WAR

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EARLY HISTORY

THE FIRST NEWS OF MALAYA

The first hint to reach Europe that habitable lands eastwards of the Ganges might exist occurred in the writings of the first Latin geographer, Pomponius Mela, A.D. 43. But nothing resembling first-hand knowledge got about until the 2nd century, when Ptolemy wrote a geography founded on the work of a predecessor who had actually known a mariner who had voyaged to South-East Asia. No further advance in knowledge came until the first half of the 6th century, when an Alexandrian Greek monk named Cosmas, and surnamed Indicopleustes because of his travels, wrote from personal experience. His object was to prove that the world was the same shape as the Ark built by the children of Israel in the desert, but he did incidentally show that you had to round the Malay Peninsula and then steer northward to get to China.

HINDUS AND MOHAMMEDANS: THE SPICE TRADE

It was the spice trade which put the Malay Peninsula on the map in a different sense.

The spice trade is among the oldest trades in the world; as early as the 3rd century B.C. Megasthenes mentions spices brought from "southern parts of India" to the shores of the Ganges. But while India held the monopoly of the clove, the Malay Peninsula was ignored, the Hindus spreading their influence through the adjacent islands of the archipelago. It was from Sumatra that Hindu culture reached the peninsula. By A.D. 500 there was a small Hindu kingdom, still of little influence on the interior, situated at Malacca. The Hindu-Buddhist empire of Srivijaya which dominated the Malay world from the 7th to the 13th century had its capital sometimes in Sumatra and

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sometimes in Malaya. In the "Arabian Nights" its Emperor is styled "King of the Mountain and Lord of the Isles" because he ruled the isles from his mountain throne in Malaya. There is a very necessary fibre of toughness in the easy-going Malays; they survived this incursion and even married into the ruling families; and they have maintained their distinctive identity in spite of all the foreign incursions which have succeeded to that of the Hindus.

Meanwhile, inter-Asiatic intercourse by means of sea-routes was steadily on the increase since the discovery, attributed to the Greek pilot Hippalus, of the way to utilise the monsoons and sail directly to and fro across the Indian Ocean. After the decline of the power of Rome, the dominant force in Asiatic commerce and navigation was Persia. Mohammedan traders, both Persians and Arabs, following the routes prepared by their forbears, broke down the Hindu monopoly and ousted the earlier exploiters so well that by the beginning of the 16th century, when the Portuguese appeared as the first Europeans on the scene, the spice trade was almost exclusively in their hands; and the chief emporia of the Mohammedan monopolists were in or near the Malay Peninsula.

Thus the importance to the world of the Malay Peninsula, or Malaya as we may more briefly call it, was that its locality made it the natural distributing centre of spices brought from the Moluccas—the Spice Islands par excellence—en route for India and Europe. All shipping to and from the regions farther east had to pass through the Straits of Malacca.

In 1511 the Portuguese seized Malacca on the east coast of the Peninsula, then the chief trading centre of the Malay Archipelago. This first European contact did not mark any immediate change in the life of Malaya. Soon the monopoly of the spice trade was in Portuguese hands (to be wrested from them later by the Dutch) and Malacca was its great headquarters; but the Europeans came, as their predecessors had done, for the trade which lay beyond the Straits of Malacca in the islands, and not to extend territorial claims in the peninsula itself.

But 1511 is a convenient date at which to pause and consider what of permanent importance had already happened in Malaya. And there were two such things.

TWO PERMANENT PRE-EUROPEAN FACTORS

The first was a direct outcome of the spice trade. The Persian and Arab traders had been incidentally missionaries of the faith of Islam and had converted the Malays. So, though their monopoly passed from them, these traders left an enduring memorial; the Malays are still Mohammedans.

The second concerns an industry which came in due course to eclipse the spice trade. Chinese pioneers were already mining tin

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in Malaya. To-day tin is second only to rubber in Malayan economy, and the Chinese account for nearly three sevenths of the total population.

THE COMING OF THE EUROPEANS

IMPORTANCE OF THE SPICE TRADE TO EUROPE

No sooner had the Portuguese rounded the Cape of Good Hope and established themselves on the East African coast, in the neighbourhood of the Gulf of Aden and the Malabar coast, than they wanted Malacca, and in 1511 they got it and established a garrison there. One may wonder to-day why the spice trade loomed so large; why the early navigators and traders struggled so hard and risked so much for it, with a kind of magnificent rapacity, or, rather, why it was so abundantly worth their while financially to do so. The demand for spices was a luxury demand, a symbol of wealth and of Europe being able to draw its requirements from the uttermost parts of the gorgeous East, but this was a luxury of considerable practical importance in life. Not only was diet monotonous, but meat without spices was generally extremely unpalatable. Refrigeration and the modern speed of transport and distribution were lacking, while cattle had to be slaughtered in the autumn for lack of winter feeding till turnips were introduced. So meat was generally dried or pickled or, if fresh, liable to get high before it was finished; spices disguised the taste and when necessary the smell. They also did something towards masking bad smells in general; and echoes of how much people did dislike the smells of these unhygienic days have come down to us in the wistful insistence of lyrical poetry on fragrance, and the account of Cardinal Wolsey holding a pomander—an orange stuck with cloves—amid crowds at the Court much to their offence.

FOREIGN INCURSIONS AND MALAY DISINTEGRATION

The Portuguese, then the Dutch and then the British came to Malaya for trade and not from imperialistic aspiration; only the Portuguese, who were addicted to missions and conversion, had any idea of interfering with interior affairs. But, of course, they all did interfere, just as the earlier incursions of other peoples and of Hinduism and Mohammedanism had done. Trading centres in Malaya became pawns in the rivalries of competitive powers. Good relations with the native people of the country were very necessary; trade paid handsomely as the responsibilities of territorial acquisition would not have done; but long before it was realised that security for trade could only be maintained by turning the factory on foreign soil into a concession and then a fortified settlement, the Europeans inevitably utilised the conflicts within and between local Malay courts.

The stable and dignified Malay States which took shape under British rule were a British creation, succeeding to a feudal hotchpotch of petty potentates and tyrants. Conditions within Malaya, before the whole country came under British influence, were indeed miserable,

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and going from bad to worse. Extortion was the main object of the governments; feuds and civil wars were constant; slavery was common. There were slaves by purchase, slaves by capture and debt-slaves—a whole family might become the property of a creditor whose claim was perhaps quite unjust—none of whom could ever hope to be freed. The contrast was indeed a happy one when this slavery and this wretchedness came to be replaced by peace and security and a rising standard of the amenities of life under British auspices. One must, however, realise that the linking of Malay petty potentates with the intrigues of the European newcomers, from the early 16th century onwards, was likely to produce a disintegrating effect. There had been great Malaysian empires in the past, and the Malays were a people with a culture of their own and a distinct outlook on life. It cannot be said for certain that, left to themselves, they might not have developed a stable polity; it is only certain that they did not do so, that they did in fact, and for whatever reason, sink into a lamentable state of disintegration, from which British intervention at length rescued them.

While there had been incursions by sea before the Europeans came, Malaya was also impinged from the land frontier in the north. The Siamese had pretensions to suzerainty over the northern states which history has never clearly elucidated. For instance, did the gold and silver flowers called the Bunga Mas which Kedah sent to Siam signify polite respect or vassalage? At any rate, the Malays constantly revolted against the Siamese, and the Siamese—a people of alien race and different religion, without even the novelty of technical modern advancement to lend verisimilitude to their lordly assumptions—were at the least repressive to the Malays.

BRITISH INFLUENCE IN MALAYA

THE BRITISH FOUNDATIONS OF THE STRAITS SETTLEMENTS

The various conflicts and agreed arrangements by which the Dutch superseded the Portuguese and the British the Dutch can be run through rapidly. Britain's connection with the Malayan world can be dated from a charter of the year 1600 to the East India Company. The trade was profitable, but England had no monopoly and the Portuguese and the Dutch were already established. In 1615 the Dutch East India Company, who at their own expense had broken the Portuguese monopoly, offered to amalgamate with the English. The English shrank from attendant liabilities and were ousted from the archipelago but, prevailed in India.

The first challenge to the Dutch Company's supremacy was the foundation of the settlement of Penang. In 1786 Penang Island was granted to Captain Francis Light by the Sultan of Kedah in consideration of protection against his enemies, Siam, Burma and the neighbouring state of Selangor. The British were reluctant to intervene in internal affairs, and two years later an annual payment was agreed

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on; the same arrangement was come to when a strip of the mainland flanking the island, now known as Province Wellesley, was also ceded. Non-intervention was a firm policy of the British Government far from the spot, and not a discreditable one, though the Sultan would have preferred an active British policy of intervention on his behalf.

Shortly after the occupation of Penang the balance of forces was changed in Malaysia by the Napoleonic wars. When Holland joined the French, her possessions were open to seizure by the British and they took Malacca in 1795. They did not, however, claim it as a permanent acquisition by right of conquest but restored it to the Dutch at the Treaty of Vienna in 1818; only regaining it by legitimate agreement in 1824 in exchange for their own trading centre in Sumatra. Malacca has since been overshadowed in importance by the later settlements of Penang and Singapore.

Singapore was founded in 1819 by Sir Stamford Raffles. The East India Company had appointed him 14 years earlier to be Assistant Secretary to the government of Penang. He had been to India since then. For a while, during the Napoleonic war, he had been Governor of Java till it was restored to the Dutch; and his attitude towards colonial administration and Asiatic peoples, whom he studied with sympathy and respect, had considerable influence on subsequent Dutch colonial policy. Singapore was, so to speak, his own invention. It was a desolate island which he obtained by treaty from the Sultan of Johore in consideration of an annual payment.

CHANGING IDEAS

By this date—indeed by the date of the foundation of Penang—times had changed and there were different ideas in the world from those that had governed the earlier invaders.

In the first place, trade policy was beginning to change. The Dutch had not yet abandoned their monopolistic policy and did their best to chivvy any ships that appeared in the Straits of Malacca—the bottleneck of trade from farther east—into Dutch ports to pay the enormous dues; it was the object of such men as Light and Raffles to open the whole thing up. The East India Company though not converted to free trade, allowed Captain Light to establish the trade of Penang on such a liberal basis that immigrants were attracted by the thousand to enjoy the protection of the British flag. For instance, there were only a few hundred Chinese at Malacca, then under the Dutch; within a few years there were 10,000 at Penang. At Singapore, Raffles was able to introduce complete freedom of trade. He was an avowed free-trader long before Adam Smith's free-trade ideas had become acceptable in British politics. It was, of course, a council of expediency, and succeeded immediately, even beyond his hopes. Singapore was besieged by immigrants of all kinds anxious to secure such unprecedented benefits.

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In the second place, public conscience had become a real, if somewhat uncharted, force. Men had read the works of Rousseau, Burke and Thomas Paine—among them Raffles—and been much excited by them, forming somewhat Utopian theories about a natural law of right and justice applicable everywhere. The British were certainly apt to identify this natural law with British law, but that is not to say that the theories were insincere or the awakening of a wider conscience other than valuable.

SIR STAMFORD RAFFLES

In his combination of ambitious practicability and noble vision, Raffles was of his time. The odd mixture of both in his writings is not unrealistic, since economics and emotion have seldom shown a clear dividing line in their influence on history. Where he was really ahead of his time was in his profound realisation that Asiatics were fellow human beings, whether Christian or not. He studied the Malay language and the Malays, forming a high opinion of them and discerning their capabilities even in that time of their disintegration. He rigorously suppressed slavery long before it was abolished in the British Empire as a whole, let alone in the United States. His plans for education were so far-reaching that they have not yet been fully attained. Thus the history of British rule in Malaya got off to a happy start, though ill-health compelled Raffles to leave the East while Singapore was yet in its infancy. He was a man of wide interests, a scholar, a naturalist and co-founder of the London Zoo. He died in England in 1826.

THE STRAITS SETTLEMENTS BECAME A COLONY

For half a century the Straits Settlements (Penang with Province Wellesley, Malacca and Singapore) remained under the Government of India. The Indian authorities took little interest in the Malay States, remaining chiefly interested in trade. The commodities of the archipelago were collected at the focal point of Singapore and transmitted to China to balance the ever growing purchases of tea.

In 1858 the East India Company was superseded by the Crown, and in 1867 the Straits Settlements were transferred to the Colonial Office.

THE BRITISH POLICY OF NON-INTERVENTION

All this time, the distant authorities, whether in Calcutta or London refused to interest themselves beyond the settlements or allow any British activities in Malaya outside their limits.

Under steadily degenerating rulership the condition of the Malays got progressively more miserable. The only valuable product was tin, and this was mined by Chinese whose presence in large numbers added to the forces of violence. Siamese aggression in the north was a further source of disorder. The peninsula as a whole was

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roadless and without means of communication except rivers. Robbery by land had its counterpart in piracy along the coasts, often so extensive as to be a menace to trade passing through the Straits. The warring feudal aristocracy of Sultans and their subordinate chiefs had little or no conception of public welfare.

Of course this state of affairs was a menace to the prosperity of the Straits Settlements, as well as grievous in itself. The Chinese merchants who carried on trade at great risk in the interior constantly petitioned the Straits Settlements Government to intervene. Two factors withheld it; reluctance to acquire further responsibilities, and a genuine feeling that to interfere in the affairs of other countries was wrong. But there the British were, prosperously ensconced; and they could not either ignore indefinitely the security needs of commerce, or wash their hands of human misery beyond their own defences.

INTERVENTION AT LAST : TREATIES WITH FOUR STATES

Intervention came at last in 1873 when disturbances between two powerful sects of Chinese miners in Perak assumed ferocious proportions, and when the desperate conditions in Perak and Selangor had aroused the attention of the British Government. The Chinese stockades were destroyed, and Gladstone's Colonial Secretary, Lord Kimberley, instructed the Governor of the Straits Settlements, Sir Andrew Clarke, to consider the best means of restoring order and stationing British officers at the Malay courts.

Accordingly the Treaty of Pangkor was concluded with Perak in January, 1874, by which Perak agreed to accept a British Resident whose advice should be " asked and acted upon on all questions other than those touching Malay religion and customs." In the same year the Sultan of Selangor entered into a similar treaty, and the most important of the group known as Negri Sembilan or Nine States asked for help in the restoration of order. By the end of the year British Residents were appointed in all three states. One by one the other members of Negri Sembilan followed suit, and in 1887-8 Pahang also became a protectorate and received a Resident.

THE WORK OF THE BRITISH RESIDENTS AND ITS SUCCESS : FEDERATION OF THE FOUR STATES

The task of the Residents was not an easy one. A lawless and extortionate ruling class had to become heads of a civilized society, violence had to give way to peace and justice. It was not accomplished all at once. In 1875 Mr. Birch, the first Resident in Perak, was murdered at the instigation of discontented chiefs; he had perhaps moved too fast. A small military expedition restored order. In 1894 another expedition had to quell an attack in Pahang. These were small affairs directed against small factions, but they put the " almost " into the fact that peace and prosperity were brought almost bloodlessly to ravaged Malaya. What is more to the point is that

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in less than 20 years that hard initial task of the Residents was indeed accomplished; an honour not only to them but to the Malay chiefs with whom they worked. In Perak where Mr. Birch had been murdered, a succession of corrupt and oppressive rulers was followed by the reign of the wise and able Sultan Idris.

For the ordinary Malay and Chinese in the four States of Perak, Selangor, Negri Sembilan and Pahang—united as the *Federated Malay States* by a treaty of Federation in 1895—this was a period of great advancement. They were freed from the old oppression and from slavery and the fear of it, a beginning was made with education and modern sanitation, the Malay could till his fields and the Chinese seek his fortune in safety. In the name of the hereditary rulers and under their authority police, magistrates, revenue, roads, posts, telegraphs and medical services were organized for them. Railway construction began in 1884. Peace and communications increased the value of arable land, the tin industry was extended and developed, the rubber industry was introduced towards the end of the century. Foreign capital flowed in and so did immigrants to enjoy security and wages higher than their own countries could offer.

THE FOUR NORTHERN UNFEDERATED STATES

Of the Malay States which remained outside the Federation, the four northern states of Perlis, Kedah, Trengganu and Kelantan continued under a fluctuating and undefined Siamese suzerainty, repressive enough to be resented on occasions and not strong enough to maintain any stability. In 1909 the Siamese Government transferred by treaty to the British Government "all rights of suzerainty, protection, administration and control whatsoever" which they possessed over these four states. Next year the ruler of Kelantan agreed to accept a British Adviser and follow his advice except in matters of religion and custom, and the Sultan of Trengganu made a treaty providing for a British Agent to be stationed in his State, accepting an Adviser in 1919. Advisers were received in Kedah and Perlis under similar treaties in 1923 and 1929.

The economic development of these four northern Unfederated Malay States has not been so spectacular as that of the F.M.S. Revenue steadily exceeded expenditure in Perlis and Kedah; Kelantan and Trengganu have showed the slight debit balances associated with an early stage of economic evolution. But if they were less developed in some ways than their neighbours to the south, they had a much more distinctively Malay personality which they valued highly. There are nearly as many Chinese as Malays in Malaya to-day and in parts of the country they outnumber them, while Indians—chiefly on the rubber estates—account for about a seventh of total population. But the four northern states remained predominantly Malay in population, outlook and way of life. The Malay is essentially a peasant; he is an individualist who does not like to sacrifice his independence on employment on estates or in mines or, as a general rule, in commerce.

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The British officials in Perlis, Kedah, Trengganu and Kelantan have identified themselves with local interests and worked in close co-operation with the Malay authorities. In Kedah especially, highly placed Malays have demonstrated outstanding political intelligence and ability.

JOHORE

Johore, the fifth of the Unfederated Malay States, occupied the southern end of the peninsula. It took on new life from the proximity of the great sea-port of Singapore, and has shared almost automatically in the prosperous development of the F.M.S., though its large-scale economic development came somewhat later. The Sultans of Johore have been especially talented and striking figures.

Johore was always on friendly terms with Great Britain, but for long there was no formal relationship. In 1885 the Maharaja—as he then was—of Johore visited Queen Victoria, with whom he was on extremely friendly terms, for the second time; and with her approval arranged a treaty by which he was recognised as Sultan and his State came under British protection. In 1914 a British General Adviser and other British officers were appointed, thus bringing the State into general line with the older protectorates to the north.

Johore is unique among the Malay States in having a written Constitution, promulgated by Queen Victoria's friend Sultan Abu Bakar in 1895 and with a few amendments added since. The other States have constitutions too, even if they are unwritten; and so far as the checks on the Ruler by the principal personages or "Supporters of the Country" are concerned, the Johore Constitution is clearly in line with Malay tradition. Nevertheless this singularity of the written document is typical of Johore, inasmuch as this State with its remarkable rulers has acquired in an undefinable but all-round way the atmosphere of being in a special category by itself.

GOVERNMENT AND ADMINISTRATION

Thus British Malaya came to present a complex picture.

There were three main races; the Malays, the Chinese who at last almost equalled them in number, and the Indians who finally amounted to something like a seventh of the population.

THE GENERAL SET-UP

And there were three distinct administrative systems. The Straits Settlements were a Crown Colony of which any native was a natural born British subject, entitled to a British passport. The Federated Malay States were a Protectorate, the Ruler of each State was an independent sovereign prince acting—except in matters of religion and custom—under the advice of a British Resident, and his subjects were eligible for passports as British-protected people. The five

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Unfederated States were protected by Great Britain under treaty providing for the maintenance of British Advisers and their Staffs. Subjects of the Rulers of these States had also the status of British-protected persons.

The administration of these several units was in the hands of one officer with the title of Governor of the Straits Settlements and High Commissioner for the Malay States, domiciled at Singapore and responsible to His Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies.

THE STRAITS SETTLEMENTS

As Governor of the Straits Settlements he was assisted by an Executive Council three of whose 11 members were unofficial, and a Legislative Council whose constitution was enlarged in 1924 to provide for two elected members.

THE FEDERATED MALAY STATES

In the Federated Malay States the supreme authority was vested in the Ruler in State Council, of which the British Resident was always a member. On the Federal Council established in 1909 the High Commissioner was President. Questions of religion, custom, political pensions, were of course dealt with by the States in Council, that is to say, they were dealt with by the Ruler and his Advisers in each state, without British interference and without reference to the Federal Council. Moreover since 1927, as a result of a steady policy of decentralisation, control of agriculture, education, forestry, mining, drainage and irrigation and several other departments were transferred to the States, which were taking an increasingly active part in the administration of the Federation.

THE UNFEDERATED MALAY STATES

The five Unfederated States had no administrative connection with the Colony or the Federation, but were directly under the care of the High Commissioner through their British Advisers.

THE DISTRICTS

The Federated and Unfederated Malay States and certain areas in the Straits Settlements were divided into districts, administered by district officers who carried out the administration of native affairs with the aid of Malay headmen of sub-divisions of the districts.

MUNICIPALITIES, ETC.

In Singapore, Penang and Malacca there were Municipalities. Municipal Commissioners were appointed by the Governor and, in practice, a certain number were nominated by various public bodies such as the British or Chinese Chambers of Commerce, etc. In Singapore in 1938 there was a majority of Asiatic members. The

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Municipalities were responsible for such public services as waterworks, electricity and gas, and sanitation. In the F.M.S. the Sanitary Boards performed functions similar to those of the Municipalities in the Settlements; as did the town Boards, constituted by Enactments, in the Unfederated States.

VARIOUS BOARDS AND COMMITTEES

Various Boards and Committees assisted the Government with advice on matters affecting the various nationalities of which the population is composed. Such Boards were the Chinese, Mohammedan, Indian and Sikh Advisory Boards in the Straits Settlements, and the Chinese Advisory Boards in the Federated States. Members of the public also served on Harbour Boards, Hospital Management Committees, Immigration Committees, as Trustees for Educational Institutions, as Visitors to Prisons and Mental Hospitals, and in many other capacities.

INCREASING MALAY SHARE IN ADMINISTRATION

It can be said in a general way that the Malays en masse had not developed much political consciousness; there had been little time for them to do so. Great forward strides had been made, however, towards their taking a full share in the administration of the country. Numbers of Malay Officers have held such posts as District Officer, Chairman of Sanitary Board, Registrar of the Supreme Court and Deputy Public Prosecutor. Responsible positions in the Police and various Departments were increasingly being filled by Malays.

EDUCATION

Capacity to fill responsible posts is related to the rise in both general and technical education. And so a very brief outline of educational opportunity in Malaya is given in an appendix.

It dates from 1816 when Penang Free School was opened, but in the country as a whole it is necessarily of somewhat more recent date.

Much remains to be done for education in Malaya, but a complete education beginning in the primary vernacular school and ending in the English Secondary School—up to the Higher Certificate Examination—was available to the Malay boy without charge, while Technical and Higher Education were beginning to develop on wide lines. Education and health are the two outstanding social services; and it is because education provides opportunity for the forces within a people that has been dwelt upon rather than the achievements of medical and health services, the conquest of malaria and the great improvement in public health and expectation of life generally, which has been so important a part of Malayan advancement.

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CONCLUSION

Sir Stamford Raffles concluded his " Minute on the Establishment of a Malay College at Singapore "—by urging that, if the time should come when the British Empire passed away,

> " these monuments of her virtue will endure when her triumphs have become an empty name. Let it be still the boast of Britain to write her name in characters of light; let her not be remembered as the tempest whose course was desolation, but as the gale of spring, reviving the slumbering seeds of mind, and calling them to life from the winter of oppression."

So grandiloquent a phrase makes us smile to-day; yet it does mean something to all of us, and we are aware that on the whole some such attempt has guided us. We are bitterly aware that a tempest whose course is desolation has swept over Malaya when our power to protect was deflected to meet the onslaught of the storm in the west; and that when the Japanese are utterly expelled we shall have much to do to awaken spring after a winter of oppression indeed. We know, too, that some day the British Colonial Empire will pass away, inasmuch as it is its own resolute policy to lead its peoples to self-government as and when it can. Nor can we deny that monuments of virtue are the only kind of triumph that do endure. Finally, even the most beneficent self-righteousness cannot write any name in characters of light; it should be the virtue of an Empire not merely to equip its peoples with the advantages of an alien civilization but to call to life and growth their own inherent forces, their unique contribution to their own life and to the life of the world—a contribution which might come to surpass that of the once paramount Power.

We can regard our past achievements in Malaya with some just satisfaction so long as we regard them, not as complete in themselves, but as holding a great promise which we must strive to make good. This is not so much a matter of generosity as of what we owe to others and to our self-respect.

July, 1944.

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APPENDIX

EDUCATION

ADMINISTRATION

The Director of Education of the Straits Settlements was also Adviser on Education for the Federated Malay States, and policy administration was similar, though there were certain educational facilities peculiar to each. The direct sphere of the Malayan Educational Department was restricted to the Settlements and the F.M.S.

In each of the Unfederated States education was under the control of a State Department. Because their policies were not quite uniform, it will be simpler to restrict this brief account of schools in Malaya to those of the Colony and the F.M.S. However, the Unfederated States pursued parallel policies, and the Malayan Education Department was always willing to assist them in any problem in which they sought help, and to lend them officers; the Superintendents of Education both in Johore and Kedah were thus lent.

PRIMARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION OF MALAY BOYS

The Malay boy in the Straits Settlements or the Federated States would begin his education in a vernacular school; these with very few exceptions were free schools maintained by the Governments. The subjects taught were reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, history and hygiene. In addition to these general subjects, and to physical training, instruction calculated to further interests in the life and work of the village was given in all schools, such as gardening, basketry work and poultry keeping, and sometimes bookbinding, cotton-printing and soap making. Attendance at these schools was compulsory from the ages of seven to 14 for all pupils living within a specified distance who had not passed the examination for Standard IV.

Any Malay boy who had passed Standard IV by the age of 11 was qualified for free admission to an English school. It will be necessary to refer again to the English schools later, but it should be explained here that for two years after his arrival from the vernacular school the Malay boy would receive intensive instruction in English, placing him thereafter on a level with other pupils who had been there for six years. He would resume the study of his own language later, and Malay was always taken as a subject for the school certificate examination.

For the Malay boy a complete education starting with the primary vernacular school and ending in the English secondary school was available without charge.

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PRIMARY EDUCATION OF MALAY GIRLS

The Malay girl might attend a girls' school or a mixed school, receiving the same teaching as the boys with suitable modifications in handwork subjects. An increasing number of girls were attending schools before the Japanese occupation, and a training college for Malay women teachers was opened in Malacca in 1935.

CHINESE SCHOOLS

The Chinese vernacular schools were largely self-governing schools managed by committees; but some were free schools supported by individual Chinese generosity, and there were also schools provided for by district societies, or by Christian missions, and proprietary schools conducted by teachers dependent on pupils' fees. The courses were of a literary type, the same for boys and girls, and usually included English as a subject. These schools were inspected by officers from the Chinese Protectorate seconded to the Education Department, and nearly all of them received grants-in-aid from the Government. The vast majority were primary schools only.

INDIAN SCHOOLS

In the Indian vernacular schools, the medium of instruction was generally Tamil, though other languages were represented, and they were largely schools situated on the rubber estates. They were inspected by Indian assistant inspectors, and those which reached a certain standard might receive grants-in-aid. The great majority of these schools charged no fees. The subjects taught were reading, writing and arithmetic and, in the higher classes, composition and geography.

ENGLISH SCHOOLS (for pupils of any race)

In the English schools, English was the sole medium of instruction, and pupils of any race and either sex were received. They provided education—not always at the same school—from six to 17 years, up to the higher certificate examination; that is, primary, middle and secondary education. Fees were low and free places or scholarships available.

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

There were four training colleges for Malay teachers; the first of them was founded in 1878.

The Malay college at Kuala Kangsar in Perak provided education on English lines for Malays destined for Government service, and for the sons of rajas and chiefs.

The School of Agriculture at Serdang, established in 1931, provided agricultural courses both in Malay and English, besides refresher courses for Malay officers of the Agricultural Department which controlled the school.

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Vocational education was also carried on at trade schools and evening classes. These Trade Schools, a new departure inaugurated in 1926 and steadily developed, provided courses extending over three years and proved from the first a great success, attracting and thoroughly fitting Malays for various employments as skilled artisans.

HIGHER EDUCATION

Higher education was provided at King Edward VII College of Medicine and at Raffles College.

At King Edward VII College of Medicine a full six years' course was given, and since 1916 the diploma has been recognized by the British Medical Council and the holder entitled to practise anywhere in the British Empire.

Raffles College, partly residential and partly non-residential, was established at Singapore in 1918. Its purpose was to provide for the education of teachers urgently needed for the secondary schools, and to offer training facilities in scientific and technical subjects for the increasing number of young men and women who wished to fit themselves for the commercial and economic work of the community by an education of university type. Various proposals for its further development have been made, the end in view being to raise it to University status.

Raffles College had begun to attract students from as far afield as Kedah and Perak; the student body being latterly made up of roughly 60% from the Straits Settlements, 30% from the F.M.S. and 10% from the Unfederated States, mainly Johore. Malay students were still in the minority, and a Malay woman student had yet to make her appearance, but Malay interest in Higher Education was on the upgrade. An encouraging feature concerning the students in general was the sharp increase in private students, not maintained by Government, who were attracted to Raffles College.

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THE STORY OF THE MALAY PENINSULA

PART II

DURING THE SECOND WORLD WAR

INTRODUCTION

On 7th December, 1941, the Pacific War started with simultaneous air attacks by Japan on Malaya, Hong-Kong, Manila, and on Pearl Harbour, where the United States Pacific fleet was put temporarily out of action.

The treachery of these attacks, launched while the Japanese envoys in Washington were still engaged in so-called peace negotiations, makes that 7th December, as President Roosevelt said, "a date that will live in infamy." Yet it is only in a very limited and literal sense that it can be considered as the beginning of that Far Eastern tragedy, to which even the unconditional surrender of Japan will not, without years of work and re-habilitation, supply a happy ending. It is utterly unreal to think of the Pacific War as separate from the war in the West, or to think of the fate of one country as unrelated to that of others half a world away. If anything can bring home to us that the world is one, it is the inexorable logic of this world war. The story of the war in Malaya cannot be told without reference to an immense surrounding frame; before the first shot was fired in the Pacific, the downfall of Malaya was prepared by the fall of France.

PROLOGUE TO PACIFIC BATTLE

THE POSITION OF BRITAIN, JUNE, 1940—DECEMBER, 1941

For us the fall of France in June, 1940, was a catastrophe very near home. Its immediate repercussions were so pressing and so present as to obscure to the ordinary citizen its significance in Far Eastern affairs. Practically all British equipment had been lost at Dunkirk and Britain faced Germany as the only country in Europe not either overrun, apparently protected by pact, neutral or else in active co-operation with the enemy.

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But while the problem of Britain's own peril was most acute there still remained her obligations to those parts of the Empire for whose defence she stood responsible. It was clear that not only was there the Nazi drive across Africa to the east; the agreement between the Axis and Japan in September, 1940, merely formalised a threat which had long been obvious. Thus the Army had to cover (1) Home Defence —and the peril of invasion was imminent, (2) the North African front, (3) the defence of Malta and Cyprus, (4) the defence of East African territories against Italian invasion, (5) the strengthening of India's defence, (6) the strengthened garrisoning of all the British Colonial territories which might possibly come within reach of attack by the Axis, (7) the strengthening of the defence of Far East territories against the looming threat of Japan. While the Dominions sent every man they could spare to assist in this enormous duty, at the same time they needed to build up their own armed defence within their own territories.

The Navy was equally extended. Its task was to keep open the sea-routes upon which all else depended. It was occupied in offensive and defensive operations in Home Waters, the Atlantic and the Mediterranean. It conveyed the ceaseless and essential stream of supply ships up and down the trade routes which link up the Empire. In those early days it was unassisted by the U.S. Fleet; and the Dominions Navies, which have since made rapid strides and taken over some of the Royal Navy's many commitments, were in those early days of the war too small to afford much help. Just as British naval strength in the Atlantic was a most important factor for the United States, so in Pacific Waters had British strategy come to rely on the support of the American Fleet should Japan launch an attack. Japan's lightning and treacherous assault on the American Fleet at Pearl Harbour showed her appreciation of this factor. Moreover at the time Japan struck in December, 1941, the Navy had acquired the fresh charge of conveying essential supplies to Russia which Hitler had invaded six months previously in June, 1941.

At the same time the Navy was actively concerned in the conduct of the North African Campaign, sometimes engaging the Axis fleets and U-boats, incessantly convoying and maintaining lines of communication with the bases of supply of men and material in Britain. Convoys to beleaguered Malta were another responsibility. U-boats in the Caribbean threatened supplies; everywhere the Navy had now to keep unceasing watch and guard.

The Air Force was in the same position. Required for defence of Britain; for attack over Nazi-Europe; for the North African campaign; for Malta; for convoy; for reconnaissance; for Russia; its numbers were stretched to the utmost.

Finally, there was a shortage of transport ships, and war equipment of all sorts.

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The position in fact was one of commitments far in excess of supply. Our grand strategy hinged on the choice of priorities; the priorities chosen, and rightly chosen, were supplies to Russia and the African Campaign.

JAPAN'S ACTIVITIES

The fall of France meant something more to Japan than the desperate pressure under which it placed Britain. That was important, but that was only part of it. Japan now became dominant in French Indo-China. In September, 1940, she joined the Axis.

Once the Vichy Government had let her into French Indo-China, Japan was able to establish her troops in positions of readiness. Early in 1941 she interposed in the peace negotiations between Indo-China and Siam; pressure was brought to bear on Siam by means which included the massing of troops on the frontier. In July, 1941, large numbers of Japanese forces landed in Southern Indo-China under a cloak of legality and they occupied Saigon, Cam-Ranh and Pnom-penh. And now Japan was sitting pretty; a little matter of violating the Siamese frontier was not going to hinder her from flooding her troops through Siam into Burma and Malaya. The Vichy Government had handed her a golden key, and because of her preparedness on land she was able to dare the strokes which gave her temporary naval superiority in the Pacific.

THE IMPORTANCE OF MALAYA TO JAPAN

On control of the sea Far East strategy depended. Since Anglo-American naval power hinged on Pearl Harbour, where the might of the United States Fleet brooded over the great Pacific distances, and on the base at Singapore, these were bound to be Japan's first objectives. Prior to the fall of France, it had hardly been considered possible that Malaya would be endangered via the friendly countries of French Indo-China and Siam, and Japan banked on the likelihood that the defences of Singapore would be insufficient to withstand a concentrated attack from the landward side.

By occupying Malaya Japan would acquire three advantages, over and beyond the use of a valuable naval base.

She would obtain greater security from attack, by denying the Allied fleets a base from which to operate in the South China Sea.

She would obtain opportunity for further aggression; the Netherlands East Indies must surely be doomed; New Zealand and Australia would become vulnerable; operations could be conducted against Allied shipping in the Indian Ocean; the attack on Burma could be developed.

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Finally, she would obtain an important source of strategic raw materials; an advantage with two aspects. No matter how ruthlessly the British might demolish—as in fact they did—plant and machinery, it is impossible to scorch millions of rubber trees or to destroy the tin in the soil; the processes for getting latex are comparatively simple; the old Chinese methods of tin dredging require the minimum of machinery. And whatever limitations problems of scorched earth or shipping stringency might impose on Japan's ability to exploit these raw materials for her own use, their total denial to the Allies would be an advantage complete and unquestionable in itself.

MALAYA BEFORE THE ATTACK

In Malaya as throughout the rest of the world, the full potentialities of modern warfare were not realised until they actually struck. And Malaya, in common with the rest of the world, was misled as to the strength of the Japanese, who could be seen to have got badly bogged down in China. She was, however, neither complacent nor unprepared. Preparations to meet the Japanese attack were inadequate simply because there were not enough men and machines, since everything which Great Britain could spare had been sent to the Middle East and to Soviet Russia.

From the outset of the war with Germany Malaya made her contribution.

Her economic contribution was great. Her rubber and tin helped the United Kingdom in two ways; firstly as important materials for war industries; secondly by bringing in large quantities of United States dollars which could be used to buy other war materials in the U.S.A. There was also the work of the Singapore Harbour Board. At the beginning of the war the Board engaged on defensively arming and equipping merchantmen and converting other ships into armed naval auxiliaries; it then moved to building warships. Shipyards undertook extensive re-fittings to Australian warships; artisans built engines for ships being constructed in India for the Royal Indian Navy; minesweepers and anti-submarine craft were built from Malayan timbers and driven by locally-built Diesel engines. Imports were restricted, petrol was rationed, and every effort was made to increase home production of food.

Her financial contribution did not end with the heavy war taxation. War loans had raised £8,700,000 by June, 1941. Proceeds from the sale of War Savings Certificates were presented to the United Kingdom as a free gift for Imperial defence. The gifts received in this country from Malaya are poignant to remember now; but because they should be remembered some of them may perhaps be mentioned. The Straits Settlements raised £700,000 for bombers; the Federated Malay States nearly £400,000 for aircraft; the Unfederated State of Trengganu, in the north where the population is preponderantly Malay and the economic development comparatively slight, raised £14,000 in a Spitfire fund. Malaya gave over £16,000 to the Lord Mayor's

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Air-Raid Distress Fund, £5,000 to the Air-Raid Distress Fund in Malta, another £5,000 to the British Red Cross, £2,500 each to the Australian and the Indian Red Cross. In addition to gifts that were princely indeed, the Princes of Malaya made interest-free loans to the British Government.

Something must also be said of the local defence forces.

It has always been the policy of the British Government to regard the defence of the Colonial territories as an Imperial responsibility. The British Empire is scattered over the world and relatively small British territories lie on important trade routes or occupy key positions in the pattern of Imperial Defence.

Obviously the defence of these territories was more than a local matter; and in justice the cost of such defence should not be borne by local revenues, nor should the garrison forces be levied from local populations.

Lord Hailey in a speech in the House of Lords, 20th May, 1943, said:

> "Rightly or wrongly, it has always been our policy to endeavour to avoid placing on Colonial peoples the burden of military expenditure. Forced levies of troops have always been distasteful to us. We have rejected the conception of militarisation. There are some Dependencies in which the outlay on defence accounts are less than one per cent. of total expenditure. Even an area such as Ceylon has spent less than two and a half per cent. on this head, and there are very few Dependencies indeed in which the defence expenditure has reached five per cent. of the whole."

However, the Malay Regiment had been created in 1933 in the Federated Malay States, and this was greatly expanded. Recruits were all volunteers; 80 per cent. of its personnel being recruited from the four Federated States and 20 per cent. from the Unfederated States and the Straits Settlements. The men were all of the Malay race and in 1936, only three years after the creation of the Regiment, the first four Malay officers had received their swords.

There were Malays also serving in the Royal Engineers, the Royal Army Service Corps, Anti-Aircraft Regiments and the Royal Corps of Signals.

The Volunteer Forces of the Federated Malay States, the Straits Settlements, Kelantan, and the Johore Volunteer Engineers trained energetically and took their part in the defence scheme.

Local Volunteer Defence Corps were raised in each Settlement and State throughout the country; enlistment being among those not eligible for compulsory military service, that is to say Europeans over 41 and non-Europeans between 18 and 55. They thus comprised European, Chinese, Malay, Indian and Eurasian civilians, all training intensively.

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The Hong-Kong-Singapore Royal Artillery was an Indian unit of 100 years' standing with headquarters at Singapore.

The Militia, consisting of Europeans called up under the Compulsory Training Ordinance of 1940, were co-operating with the regulars by early 1941.

Many Malays, with their fine tradition of seamanship, joined the Straits Settlements R.N.V.R., employed on mine-sweeping. A special branch formed in August, 1941, was open to men of no previous naval experience for mine-laying and other duties. Malays trained also for the Royal Navy, and served in ships of the Royal Navy in Malayan waters.

A local Volunteer Air Force was established after the outbreak of war to supplement the work of the R.A.F. and the Royal Australian Air Force. Local recruits for the R.A.F. were given preliminary flying training at a flying school in Malaya ; one of those who joined to train as a pilot was Prince Mahmud, brother of the Sultan of Trengganu.

Both men and women volunteers were included in an Observer Corps, formed to help in air defence.

THE MALAYAN CAMPAIGN

Once the wider setting, with the immense commitments of Britain and the events which played into Japanese hands, together with Malaya's own steadfast war effort are understood, the Malayan campaign can be summarised briefly.

JAPAN'S OPENING ATTACK

On 7th December, 1941, the Japanese attack on Malaya was three-fold. Singapore was bombed. Japanese forces effected a landing in Kelantan on the north-east coast of Malaya and infiltrated to Kota Bahru aerodrome. Aerodromes in Kedah—the Malay State that lies on the west coast north of Penang and borders Siam—were bombed. This was where the strongest thrust was expected and forces were stronger in Kedah than in Kelantan, with a detachment guarding the pass through the mountains on the frontier at Kroh.

OCCUPATION OF SIAM

On 8th December Japanese forces already assembled in French Indo-China marched into Siam and advanced towards Bangkok, the capital, meeting only with a token resistance. Other Japanese troops were disembarked by transport into Southern Siam on the narrow Kra Isthmus at Singgora and Patan. Those points became the main Japanese rear bases for the invasion of Malaya.

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Meanwhile in Pahang on Malaya's east coast a second landing was attempted at Kuantan, but without success.

On 9th December the Japanese made an unopposed entry into Bangkok.

THE LOSS OF THE "REPULSE" AND THE "PRINCE OF WALES"

On 10th December the "Repulse" and the "Prince of Wales", our two capital ships in Far Eastern waters were sunk by Japanese aircraft, only three days after the attack on Pearl Harbour. Thus both the United States Fleet and the British Far Eastern Fleet were virtually eliminated from the opening stages of the war.

This loss of sea-power was ultimately decisive for the whole Malayan campaign, since it meant that the Japanese could constantly land forces from the sea behind the British forces lined across the peninsula.

DRIVE FOR PENANG : ITS EVACUATION

On 10th December also the Japanese seized Kota Bahru aerodrome, where our forces were not sufficient to deal with the reinforcements brought up by the enemy. This east coast drive was not pushed immediately ; the main force of the Japanese drive was a two-pronged push on the west, supported by a tank regiment of 150 tanks and strong air cover. It was successful against a very small number of British troops, who fought extremely well, suffering heavy casualties and losses of equipment. The Japanese advance turned our whole position in Kedah and isolated Penang.

On 19th December, after two delaying actions had been fought on the mainland, the British evacuated Penang.

WITHDRAWAL TO JOHORE

The Japanese made full use of their control of the sea by repeated landings behind the British lines, thus compelling the British formations to fall back, and neutralizing the value of natural lines of defence. Our troops fought with great courage, but could not prevail against stronger enemy forces able to land more or less unhampered and to infiltrate with skill and cunning.

On 29th December, the British withdrew from the Ipoh district towards the Slim river, while a fresh enemy landing on the east coast took Kuantan airfield. The Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders, who had been continuously in action, repeatedly stemmed Japanese advances, but on 7th January, 1942, Japanese infantry, reinforced by tanks, powerfully attacked the British positions on the Slim river ; and three days later Kuala Lumpur, capital of Selangor and Federal Capital of the F.M.S., was evacuated, and the British forces withdrew to Johore.

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ENEMY INFILTRATION : RETREAT TO SINGAPORE

On 13th January a force was formed to hold a defensive line in north-west Johore. Our men were outnumbered on the land and faced with Japanese air mastery, but they were not beaten back; the Japanese resorted to infiltration from the rear, pushing across from the west coast and threatening to cut off our troops in the centre. These troops were forced to retire by this development on another sector. The impetus of this west coast offensive carried the Japanese as far as Yongpeng, through which we got back our troops after intrepid rear-guard fighting by mixed Australian, Indian and English units, exposed to continued dive-bombing and machine-gunning attacks. The Japanese were able to exploit their advantage on the west coast to come down past Batu Pahat, and a brilliant counter-attack by a battalion of Sikhs could do no more than cover a further retreat, falling back to Singapore. Our loss of life was heavy but it was an orderly retreat, planned as a last resort, and resisting fiercely the whole way. About 2,000 men who had been cut off near Batu Pahat were evacuated by the Royal Navy.

On 30th January British forces withdrew from the mainland of Johore across the causeway linking it to Singapore Island. The causeway was then breached as successfully as possible. The big blocks of granite sunk into the Straits of Johore could not be blown up like a bridge, but the causeway could be and was considerably damaged.

THE SIEGE OF SINGAPORE

Singapore had already received very heavy enemy air attacks; during the next 14 days these became steadily more concentrated. There were no bases available to the British from which defending fighters could operate, as the bases on the island were all completely exposed. The Japanese technique was to come over in a formation of 27 out of a clear blue sky and to drop all their bombs at once on some selected part of the city; mass discharges of some 200 bombs. Dive-bombers concentrated on our positions round the coast and on the aerodromes of Sembawang and Seletar.

Our forces were disposed for the defence of the island. The configuration is such that Singapore was flanked on three sides at very close range to the Japanese troops on the mainland. Singapore-based artillery continued a harassing fire against enemy troop-movements and communications; while Japanese long-range shelling of the island, the docks and the city increased in intensity.

On 9th February after very heavy artillery bombardment of the British forward positions, and supported by considerable numbers of fighter and bomber aircraft, the Japanese landed on Singapore Island. Our counter-attack achieved some measure of success, and isolated units pushed a long way through the Japanese but were swallowed up. Next day the enemy made further landings on the north-west of the island.

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On 11th February the Japanese, assisted by tanks and considerable air support, advanced east and south towards Singapore in spite of bitter resistance. A note dropped by air and demanding unconditional surrender was ignored.

On 13th February the Japanese advance had reached Pasir Panjang on the south coast of the island just west of the harbour, and the Macritchio Reservoir just north of the town. With the breaching of the causeway the pipeline that brought water to Singapore from the catchment area of Johore was destroyed but, the island was well equipped with reservoirs; by 14th February these supplies were very badly damaged. A million people congregated on the three mile radius of Singapore.

On 15th February Singapore fell.

SUMMARY

On 27th January, 1942, Mr. Churchill said: "While facing Germany and Italy here and in the Nile Valley . . . we have never been able to provide effectively for the defence of the Far East against an attack by Japan. It has been the policy of the Cabinet at almost all costs to avoid embroilment with Japan until we are sure that the United States would be engaged. We even had to stoop . . . to close the Burma road for some months.

"There never has been a moment, there never could have been a moment when Great Britain or the British Empire, single-handed, could fight Germany and Italy—or could wage the Battle of Britain, the Battle of the Atlantic, and the Battle of the Middle East—and at the same time stand thoroughly prepared in Burma, the Malay Peninsula, and generally in the Far East against the impact of a vast military Empire like Japan with more than 70 mobile divisions, the third Navy in the world, a great air force, and the thrust of 80,000,000 or 90,000,000 of hardy warlike Asiatics. If we had started to scatter our forces over these immense areas in the Far East we would have been ruined. If we had moved large armies of troops, urgently needed at the war fronts, to regions which were not at war and might never be at war we should have been altogether wrong . . .

"The decision was taken . . . to make our contribution to Russia and to try to beat Rommel and to form a stronger front from the Levant to the Caspian."

And on 21st October, 1942, General Smuts stated: "The second result of the fall of France was the almost total loss of the entire Allied positions in the Far East. Vichy opened the door to Japan in Indo-China, and through that unexpected opening the flood poured into Siam, Malaya and Burma. Indo-China was the back-door which we never dreamt would be opened by our Ally against us—an event for which the defences of Singapore made no adequate provision and which made its fall inevitable."

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Finally, by their temporary crippling of the U.S. Fleet at Pearl Harbour, and by sinking the "Repulse" and the "Prince of Wales", the Japanese secured for a time that command of the sea on which Far Eastern strategy must turn.

These three inter-related factors inexorably spelt the downfall of Malaya.

THE PEOPLES OF MALAYA DURING THE CAMPAIGN

Although, so to speak, Malaya was not lost from Malaya itself, the attitude during the campaign of the various racial groups there must still be a matter of interest.

The European population had put something into the country and grown roots; and though in Malaya as elsewhere there was, perhaps, some psychological unpreparedness for the extraordinary speed and power of the tide which swept over the peninsula, when the war began they buckled to in a remarkable manner. European members of the Volunteers—many of them were attached to regular units—put up a fine show. Their only complaint, that of the planters especially, was that they considered the army could have used to greater advantage their local knowledge of various parts of the country.

The Europeans, however, amounted to less than 0·5 per cent. of the population. The population was overwhelmingly Asiatic; roughly three-sevenths Malay, nearly three-sevenths Chinese and one-seventh Indian.

The richer members of the Indian community, merchants, etc., were perhaps somewhat affected by enemy propaganda, and also by not unnatural alarm; there was some tendency, too, to feel that because they were foreigners it was not their war. The vast bulk of the Indian community were South Indian labourers, mainly Tamils, and these naturally had no roots in the country for they were a migratory population, each man staying on average from two to three years on an estate. They accommodated themselves as best they could to the run of events.

Among the Chinese were some real Fifth Columnists, supporters of Wang Ching-wei, head of the puppet Government at Nanking, mobilised before the war by Japanese agents. But the majority of the Chinese behaved with great courage and indifference to danger. There were very good fighters among them. The Civil Defence services were largely manned by Chinese, and worked perfectly in Singapore till the end when the city was not only under almost constant air bombardment but under heavy shell fire. The city of Singapore was subjected to bombing day and night throughout the whole campaign; and the conduct of Malays, Chinese, Indians and British working side by side in the air raid precaution services, auxiliary fire fighters, medical aid units and volunteer police was exemplary;

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while people of all races thronged the clinics in great numbers to give their blood for transfusions. It was the Chinese leaders who formed the Anti-Aggression Mobilisation Council, which linked British and Chinese resistance; very effectively too. Somewhat belatedly, on 27th January, arms were supplied for Chinese guerrillas under Sino-British leadership, and this small force earned high praise. To sum up, very few Chinese took the line " it's not our war."

It could be said of some of the Malays that their attachment centred on their own locality rather than the country as a whole, so that for these the war was over when their own homes fell. But the Malays not only in the Malay Regiment but in the Volunteer forces too did fight extremely well. It must be realised, however, that only a small proportion of the Malay people had any opportunity to take active part in the war. As Lord Cranborne said on 20th May, 1943 : " The reason the people of Malaya did not fight . . . was because we had not armed them to fight and had not trained them to fight. That is the real reason. The Filipinos fought because they were, to some extent at any rate, armed and trained, whereas the Malayans as a whole were not. Those who were, however, certainly put up a fine show.

" So far from training the Malayan and other Colonial peoples to fight, our policy for the last 50 or 60 years has been to train them not to fight. We gave them the Pax Britannica."

Under British rule the perpetual wars, bloodthirsty feuds and tyranny which characterised the Malay Peninsula were replaced by peace, security and improved standards of living.

MALAYA UNDER THE JAPANESE

What has replaced the Pax Britannica now? Our knowledge of what goes on in Malaya under the Japanese occupation is still very limited, and though we could supplement it by guess-work based on authenticated conditions under the Japanese elsewhere, it is as well to restrict ourselves to sources that can be relied on not to blacken the picture unduly—that is, to what the Japanese and their allies say themselves.

POVERTY AND FOOD SHORTAGE

> " It is true that prices have risen in Indo-China, Malaya and Java. Clothes are expensive, but the Javanese sarong is comparatively cheap."

President of the Southern Development Trust Co., Radio Tokyo, 2.12.42.

> " The Malayan food problem will be solved on the basis that the people must be self-sufficient, but, the people must be taught to eat any kind of food and must not insist on rice."

Tokyo broadcast, 19.6.42.

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" I'm afraid that in consequence of the present war the people of the Southern Regions will find themselves in the painful position of seeing the price of what they produce fall, while the prices of the things they need most have greatly risen."

Hida Takumi in February, 1943 *number of* " *Koron.*"

BLACKMAIL

" All people in the Peninsula (Malaya) who worked under the British authorities will be regarded and treated as enemies whatever their service and motive. Their treatment as prisoners will naturally be different in accordance with their ardour and sincerity to co-operate with the Japanese."

Vice-chief of the Military Government of Shonan (*Singapore*), 2.3.42.

" Some 2,500 Malayan, Burmese, Chinese and Indian workers are employed in the Shonan (Singapore) arsenal. The workers first realised the incomparable nobility of Japanese history on the occasion of the solemn ceremony held on the Emperor's birthday. They were so deeply moved that they decided to offer some contribution to Japan by drawing on their own slender incomes."

Japanese broadcast in Italian, 29.5.42.

" Complete agreement having been reached between the Central authorities and the Japanese military administration, efforts will be made to obtain three objects of military administration, namely: shipment of war material to Japan, self-sufficiency within the area of its jurisdiction, and establishment of peace and order," Masuzo Fujimura, Chief of the General Affairs Department of the Malay Military Administration declared . . . adding ' That as long as the native inhabitants co-operate with the Military Administration their economic organization and labour actions will be aided.' "

Broadcast in English from Batavia for Pacific Zone, 30.6.43.

INTERFERENCE

" The East Asia block will be under the banner of Japan; there are numerous reasons why Japan should guide the other nations of Asia, industrially, culturally and economically."

Radio Manila in English, 12.1.43.

" For the purpose of building up the New Malaya, a school for mothers has been established in Shonan (Singapore). They are going to learn the ways of Japanese women. The skilful use of the Japanese language reminds one of a girls' school in Japan proper. These girls are studying methods of bringing up children who will be as strong as Japanese soldiers."

Radio Tokyo, 23.4.43.

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"SINCERITY" AND "RESPECT"—FOR WHOM?

Japan has considerably publicised her handing over of the four northern Unfederated Malay States to Siam. She has publicised it as being the result of consultation between Premier Tojo and the Siamese Premier, without mention of even a pretence of consultation with any Malay representative. These four Malay States, less economically developed than the States to the south, prided themselves on being the most distinctively Malay part of the Peninsula, both in preponderant Malay population and in way of life. In the past, Siam claimed a never clearly defined suzerainty over them until she renounced it by treaty with Great Britain in 1909. The Siamese are of different race, religion and culture from the Malays. In the old days their pretentions were resented, and frequently disputed by force of arms; the Siamese were able to be repressive to the Malays while unable to keep order. To-day the position is worse, as Siam is in the grip of a violently nationalistic movement which must be peculiarly irksome to these States whose culture and outlook on life was respected by the British and which are so characteristically Malay.

"General Hideki Tojo, Prime Minister and War Minister of Japan, and Field-Marshal Songgram, Prime Minister and Defence Minister of Siam, met on the 4th July and . . . confirmed the view that the construction of the Co-Prosperity Sphere in Greater East Asia will be accomplished when all the component states and peoples in the region strengthen their solidarity on a basis of mutual respect for each other's sovereignty . . . Both Prime Ministers held an important discussion of Siam's long-cherished desire for new territory as well as collaboration with Japan . . . as a result of which they arrived at complete agreement regarding the incorporation into Siam of the four States in Northern Malaya."

Domei in English, 5.7.43.

"The entire Japanese press this morning gave prominence to the news of the visit of the Japanese Prime Minister to Bangkok and of the treaty setting forth Thailand's (Siam's) new frontiers. . . In political circles in Tokyo the news is interpreted as a fresh proof of the sincerity of Japan towards the peoples of Greater East Asia."

Radio Tokyo to the U.K., 5.7.43.

"It is a curious thing that the handing over of the Malay States should have happened at a time when there is a great deal of confusion in the country and people are suffering from shortage of food and goods, when there is some disagreement among the people, and when our Premier was considering resignation because he has so much to worry about."

Radio Bangkok, 8.7.43.

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MILITARY DICTATORSHIP

> " It will be necessary for the southern territories conquered by Japan to remain for some considerable time under military control, as the programme of exploitation and development requires it."
>
> *German broadcast to Holland*, 14.5.42.

> " All peoples in the Peninsula (Malaya) . . .must realise that the mere fact that their lives are almost safeguarded is an enormous favour on the part of Japan. Exaggerated mercy and useless flattery of the population must be vigorously suppressed."
>
> *Vice-chief of The Military Government of Shonan (Singapore)*, 2.3.42.

In view of so pitiless a statement, it is significant indeed that more than 15 months later (30.6.43) Masuzo Fujimura spoke of the effects still to be made by the Malay Administration to attain its three objects, one of which was " establishment "—establishment, not maintenance—" of peace and order " in Malaya.

CONCLUSION

Thus, we have some dim picture however inadequate, of what the peoples of Malaya are undergoing, and some hint even from our enemies, and theirs, that Japanese sincerity and respect are not such as to be supinely welcomed there. That, in softened and partial outline, is the régime that has replaced the Pax Britannica.

It was not possible for us to save the Pax Britannica ; it was not possible for us to save Malaya ; but we are left with a debt. We owe Malaya liberation from a cruel and obliterating enemy ; rehabilitation of her ravaged country and economy ; further development not merely of prosperity, social services, European amenities and techniques, but of her own inborn capabilities, the national and world contribution that she alone can make.

That we have lost face in the Far East is not our fault, but neither is it the fault of the peoples who thought us strong to save. The recipe for recovery of such loss is the same whether in the East or in the West, whether in peace or in war ; it has to be earned. And earned it will be.

On 1st December, 1943, at Cairo, Mr. Churchill, President Roosevelt and Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek affirmed before the world the high resolve of their three great countries in the Far Eastern theatre of war :

> " It is their purpose that Japan shall be stripped of all the islands in the Pacific which she has seized or occupied since the beginning of the first World War in 1914 and that all the territories that Japan has stolen from the Chinese, such as Manchuria, and the Pescadores, shall be restored to the Republic of China.

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" Japan will also be expelled from all other territories which she has taken by violence or greed . . .

" With these objectives in view the three Allies, in harmony with those on the United Nations at war with Japan, will continue to persevere in the serious and prolonged operations necessary to procure the unconditional surrender of Japan."

July, 1944.

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THE WAR AGAINST JAPAN

Notes on Questions Frequently Raised

PREAMBLE

Japan is in the habit of declaring that she was forced into war by her rapidly expanding population, by the poverty of her own soil and the narrowness of her boundaries, and by the trade restrictions and immigration barriers raised against her by other countries. These are the questions raised :

1. Was Japan barred from acquiring raw materials from British territories, or discriminated against unfairly ?
2. Were the trade barriers against Japanese goods in British countries more severe than those against British goods in Japanese countries ?
3. Was Japanese shipping prevented from carrying goods or passengers between the ports of the British Empire ?
4. Were British ships allowed these privileges in the Japanese Empire ?
5. Did the Japanese authorities discourage the rapid growth in Japan's population ?
6. Did the Japanese use the emigration opportunites given them either fully or wisely ?
7. Are the Japanese islands unable to feed the whole Japanese population ?

The notes that follow are intended to show the fallacies inherent in these arguments and to demonstrate how Japan has used them as post facto justifications of her military aggression.

1945

1. Was Japan barred from acquiring raw materials from British territories, or discriminated against unfairly ?

In February, 1936, the Spokesman of the Japanese Foreign Office, referring to the debate for Colonies in the House of Commons on February 11th, admitted that Japan had found no difficulty in obtaining raw materials. (Reported in *The Times*, 12th February, 1936).

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All resources of the British Empire were equally available to foreign purchasers. Japanese had investments in different parts of the Empire, as for instance, their iron ore mines at Johore, which they worked themselves. Only when it became apparent that Japan had decided upon war, did America restrict shipments of oil; Canada of copper and timber ; N.E.I. of oil, to that country.

To take one concrete example: the Japanese cotton industry. The extraordinarily rapid growth of this was made possible by allowing the Japanese to purchase freely (a) machinery from the United Kingdom and (b) raw cotton from U.S.A., British India and Egypt. By their method of combined purchases, by large financial groups, they were often able to buy at better prices than our own more individualistic manufacturers. With this, and with the relatively low wage-scale in Japan they were able to displace Lancashire in a large number of markets.

" Japanese commercial policy lays greater stress on the winning of new markets than on finding access to raw materials. Japan is confident that if she can push her sales abroad she will be able to purchase all the materials she requires."

The Colonial Problem. O.U.P.

2. Were the trade barriers against Japanese goods in British countries more severe than those against British goods in Japanese countries ?

No. When the system of world trade broke down in 1929, every country tried to regain its stability by the depreciation of currency and the imposition of trade barriers. Japan adopted these measures like all other countries : indeed, she depreciated her currency to a lower level than that of other countries and was able to sell her goods at very low prices in terms of their currencies. Where Japan, like Germany, departed from the general line was by using world conditions as an excuse for the military aggression which they had planned long before these conditions came into being.

Japanese exports for 1929 were valued at 969.8 million old gold dollars : in 1935 the value of the trade reckoned in gold dollars was only 418 million ; but this was due mainly to the fall in prices and the temporary decline of trade, and not to the loss of markets through unfair discrimination.

Japan's chief complaint is in regard to the cotton trade. But during the period 1929-1933 Japan was threatening to oust Britain from all her colonial markets. Specific duties on Japanese cotton goods were imposed in the Colonial Empire in 1932-1933, but Japan's trade continued to increase. An attempt to reach agreement with Japan broke down in March, 1934, and a quota system was imposed in the following May, which as far as cotton was concerned did benefit India and Britain at Japan's expense. There was, however, no

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element of unfairness, as the quota had been based on average imports for the years 1927-1931, a period of vigorous Japanese trade expansion.

3. Was Japanese shipping prevented from carrying goods or passengers between the ports of the British Empire ?

No. Japanese ships were allowed to make free use of such ports competing with British and American liners and merchant vessels. For instance, before the war the Mitsui Line operated an Indian service between Bombay and Madras (*Far East Year Book*, 1941), and almost the whole of Malaya's trade with Japan was carried in Japanese vessels.

(Note. In a percentage table of net tonnage of shipping entered and cleared at the ports of the Empire in 1934 the figures given for Japan was 7·3 per cent as against America's 8·2 per cent, and in ports of British mandated territories, 3 per cent as against America's 2·4 per cent).

4. Were British ships allowed these privileges in the Japanese Empire ?

No. Vessels flying foreign flags are forbidden to carry passengers and cargoes between Japanese ports* except on a continuous voyage from a foreign country (*Far East Year Book*, 1941).

5. Did the Japanese authorities discourage the rapid growth in Japan's population ?

No, they did everything in their power to foster it by the means used also in Nazi Germany ; i.e. :

a. The Japanese Welfare Ministry declared that five children to each married couple was the ideal number.

b. Large families were given medals.

c. Japanese women were told to marry earlier.

d. Loans were granted to assist early marriages.

When Japan was first brought in contact with the western world in 1853, her population, which is believed to have been fairly constant for two and a half centuries, was about 20,000,000. As she became industrialized and conditions of life improved, it naturally increased though not so fast as in other industrial countries.

For example : in the 40 years before 1912, Japan's population increased by 43 per cent while that of England increased by 60 per cent.

During the world slump of 1929-1931, Japan made great play with having those extra mouths to feed. But Japan was less badly hit than some other countries yet more densely populated: moreover she did nothing to check the growth of population during the bad years.

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* This includes the ports of assimilated Colonies.

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In 1937, when the war with China began, her population was 71,200,000. In 1940, it was 73,100,000, and in 1942, it is estimated from Tokyo announcements, it was 75,090,000.

The average increase up to the outbreak of war with China was 900,000 per year.

The declared object of the Japanese Population Bureau is to attain a national population of 100,000,000.

6. Did the Japanese use the emigration opportunities given them either fully, or wisely ?

No. The ordinary Japanese does not make a good colonist. For one thing, he is very attached to his native soil. He remains a Japanese wherever he is and forms within any community a foreign cell which irritates and eventually has to be expelled.

He is not the pioneering type of colonist, but is willing to lodge in highly developed societies where his frugal habits and high standards of industry and craftsmanship, enable him to undercut his neighbour. Even his own island of Hokkaido is very thinly settled, in spite of great potentialities, because the climate is harsh and uncongenial to the Japanese. Accordingly, to protect their standard of living some white countries, like Australia (in 1901) and the U.S.A. (in 1924) made permanent settlement for the Japanese (and incidentally for Asiatics) an impossibility.

Nevertheless Japanese commercials or labourers entered these countries freely. In Australia particularly a liberal attitude was shown towards them. For example, up to the outbreak of the war much of the pearl fishing in Northern Australia was done by Japanese diving companies, who used the opportunities given them to spy upon Australian harbours and waterways.

Figures : — According to the *Tokyo Gazette*, July, 1941, the Japanese living overseas in October, 1939, were distributed as follows :

North America and Canada	294,000
Central and South America	240,000
" Manchukuo "	500,000
China	220,000
South Seas	40,000

By the beginning of 1941 there were less than 2,000,000 Japanese living abroad, in spite of their alleged overcrowding at home and the encouragement given by their Government to emigrants. During 1941 there was even a movement back to Japan among those who had left.

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SOUTH AMERICA. A few Japanese settlers had gone to Peru, Brazil and the Argentine in the " 'nineties " ; but after 1924, when the U.S.A. excluded them they went there in great numbers. From 1924 to 1933 they numbered over 20,000 each year.

Brazil then introduced a quota system, and restricted their number to under 3,000 a year. The 1939 Japanese population was 202,000 : 97 per cent of them are farmers, who, with the aid of heavy subsidies from special colonization companies, grow chiefly cotton and coffee.

In Peru there are 21,600 Japanese, in the Argentine 6,900 and in Mexico 5,500 : mostly the Japanese prefer city life to farming in these countries. They also engaged in intrigue and espionage in peace-time, and here as elsewhere, their activities had powerful support from the Japanese Government.

MANCHURIA. When the flow into Brazil was checked, the Japanese Government turned its attention to " Manchukuo."

In 1937 there were already 400,000 Japanese there, but only 2,000 were farmers, the rest being officials or carpet-baggers. It was planned to put 1,000,000 families on the land between 1937 and 1957 ; and by sending youth " volunteers " into the frontier regions, the number of Japanese on the land has now been increased to 120,000.

But the Japanese Government has found that even with an assistance company with a 50 million yen capital and land grants of 25 acres with 1,000 yen subsidy to each settler, their nationals showed no inclination to leave Japan for an area where the crops were unfamiliar, where the climate was harsh and where, in any case, they were unable to compete economically with the Chinese farmer.

CHINA. The conquered regions of China were another proposition, however ; these were no hard, undeveloped lands but highly developed industrial and cultural centres already for milking.

It is a significant fact that there are half as many Japanese living in these territories as there are in Manchuria itself, which has been in Japanese hands six years longer, and is much vaster and less densely populated.

SOUTH SEAS. Japanese penetration of these South Sea areas has been mainly for minerals and crops such as rubber. In 1939 there were over 40,000 settlers and a capital investment of 40,000 yen. The largest community was in the Philippines, where the American authorities have estimated their number at about 50,000.

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7. Are the Japanese Islands unable to feed the whole Japanese population ?

No. The main articles of diet in Japan are rice, home-grown vegetables and fish. During the years immediately preceding the outbreak of the war with China, Japan was even producing a surplus of rice and the masses were enjoying a higher standard of living than ever before in their history. As regards vegetables, also, Japan, is self-supporting and as far as fish is concerned, it is plentiful enough in the waters around Japan. Pre-war Japan was a substantial exporter of tinned fish.

It would also be perfectly possible to develop stock-breeding, sheep and goat farming in Japan if the Government would give advice and assistance, and this would relieve pressure. But since the Meiji restoration in 1868 the policy has always been to develop industry and trade rather than experiment in agriculture.

The story that every inch of Japanese soil is utilized is also untrue. For instance, between 19.12.43 and 31.3.44 the Ministry of Agriculture under a cultivation scheme is to lay down 32,840 acres of fresh rice land (Tokyo *in Japanese*, 27th January, 1944). Rice production throughout Japan up to February, 1944, shows an increase of 3,208,700 koku (1 koku is just under five bushels) as compared with last year (Tokyo *in Japanese*, 2nd March, 1944).

In a word, a peaceful Japan has all the food she needs for her own people.

May, 1944.

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MINISTRY OF INFORMATION

SOCIAL SERVICES IN THE COLONIES

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PART I—BACKGROUND TO SOCIAL POLICY

On 13th July, 1943, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Colonel Stanley, declared to the House of Commons that he had "no inclination to apologise for the British Empire. In the past, as even our critics must admit, we have brought to millions of people security for life and property and an even-handed justice which they have never known before. Now it is our responsibility and pride to help those millions along the road to a full, happy and prosperous share in the world of the future."

It is significant at a time like this when Britain might be forgiven for being preoccupied, to the exclusion of all else, with the conduct of total war, that more concrete and far-reaching plans have been put into motion for the improvement of social conditions in the Colonies than at any other time in our history. To-day the Colonies are not restricted to their respective financial resources for the improvement of their social conditions. Under the *Colonial Development and Welfare Act of* 1940 very considerable sums of money have been set aside by Britain as a free gift for the promotion of social services and the raising of the standard of living throughout the Colonial Empire; and the most urgent needs of the respective Colonies are being closely studied either by the Governments concerned or, as in the case of the West Indies, by a Commission specially appointed for the purpose.

Between 1930 and 1940, Britain—far from drawing taxes from the Colonies as is sometimes wrongly supposed—contributed £18,000,000 towards social welfare and administration in the Colonial Empire. The Colonies pay no taxes of any kind to the British Government, (with the one exception that those which have bases defended by British forces make a small contribution towards their upkeep), and all money raised from taxation is spent within the particular Colony concerned.

The British people are proud of their Colonial Empire—the vital part it has played in this war and the still greater part it will be called upon to play in the building up of the future—and this pride, not of possession but rather of achievement, has made us more determined than ever to ensure a fuller and better life for those people of the

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Colonies who have contributed so much to the survival and security of the British Empire. What's more, the people of this country know well that this can only be achieved as a coloured man has said: "When all our noble declarations of policy are translated into terms that the common man throughout the world can understand—peace, bread, a house, adequate clothing, education, good health, and above all, the right to walk with dignity on the world's great boulevards."

There is no doubt that we are indeed translating our social policy into those very terms. The unthinking may express surprise at the length of time it takes, but let them only think for a while and they will realise the immensity of the task, and the progress which has already been made. They will realise, too, the distances involved and the millions concerned; the infinite variety of caste and creed and the innate depths of suspicion and fear which must be constantly reckoned with. For this reason, before investigating the progress which has been made in the various social fields it is essential to get some slight picture of the Colonial scene—both as it was, and as it is to-day.

AFRICA

TERRITORIES

When thinking of British Colonial Africa as a whole it as as well to bear in mind the 42 million inhabitants—less than the total population of Great Britain—spread over a territory equal to that of India, Burma and Continental Europe (minus Russia) combined. The Colonial territories can be rather broadly divided into East, West and Central Africa. To the European, the ease with which one could maintain contact with the inhabitants of the remotest Russian steppe is like a beautiful dream compared with the complications presented by the vastness of Africa.

NEW WAYS AND OLD

Western ways and habits, however, are gradually infiltrating into even the darkest corners, and traditional customs and beliefs have been strikingly modified by European influence—sometimes with the oddest results. It is no surprise to-day to find an African dispenser who has had a modern medical training and who will provide you with the very latest drugs, in keen rivalry with a "witch-doctor" next door who, for a small consideration, will try to cure you of your ills by means of placating the spirit of whichever of your angered ancestors is thought to be causing the trouble. Or you may see an educated and, to all outward appearances, highly westernised African hurrying off in a high-powered car to consult the spirits of his ancestors at some "juju" shrine. Or a small child on his way to school may be bearing his school-books, not under his arm but upon his head, with perhaps an ink-bottle on top of the lot.

Since the beginning of this century the lives of many individual Africans have undergone a change as great as that experienced by generations of Europeans through many centuries. It is not therefore

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surprising that the speed of this revolution has given rise to some very profound social and psychological problems.

TRIBAL LIFE

The native societies of Africa were, and still are, many and varied—with different languages, different religions and different customs. In some regions there was no common authority beyond the bounds of a single village. In others a King or Chief would be recognised and accepted by many thousands of subjects. What education there was was simply that of the children watching their elders at work and gradually coming to share in the various tasks. In many tribes a craftsman would celebrate with a feast when his son first made a clay pot, a spearhead or whatever it might be. Stories of tribal history handed down by word of mouth were told in the huts in the evening. Morality was taught by shrewd comment on actual events, heavily reinforced by the proverbs of which all African tribes have an almost unlimited supply. For the girls, from the earliest age, preparation for marriage was the primary concern. An essential part of any child's upbringing was an unquestioning respect for their elders, as a result of which the aged and sick were safe in the knowledge that they would not be neglected.

There was little opportunity for competition or the acquisition of wealth; and trade, such as there was, was transacted on a system of barter.

A characteristic still common to nearly all African peoples is the worship of the spirits of ancestors, who are believed to be in close touch with their living descendants. In the case of any disaster or sickness an attempt is made to discover which spirit is responsible, and immediate steps are taken, usually with the assistance of a "witch-doctor", to placate it.

All this, however, was the happier and more tranquil side to old-time African life. There is no doubt that, apart from their strong family and tribal bonds, life for the Africans was a perilous affair. Relations between the tribes were often tense, and there was constant tribal warfare. At the same time there was systematic and devastating slave raids, reaching far inland, organised by the Arabs from the East and the Europeans from the West. Appalling crimes and acts of cruelty were committed during those dark days of slavery, and large slave markets provided cheap labour to both the Eastern and Western worlds. Added to this there were the more natural, but equally deadly, perils such as disease and starvation which would attack and devastate whole regions at a time.

EUROPEAN IMPACT

Into this arrived the European employer with his strange wares and strange trades, and with him the growing and bewildering use of money. The demand for native labour in European enterprises brought about the greatest possible change in African life. With the setting up of new enterprises a sufficient force of labour could

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rarely be found close at hand, with the result that workers were drawn from far and wide which, not very surprisingly, produced a most disturbing and disruptive effect upon the native village. This upheaval did much to weaken the bonds of family and tribal life.

The general exodus from rural areas has led to a diversity of problems in Africa, just as a similar trend in England itself during the industrial revolution also gave rise to special problems. In the villages, owing to the absence of husbands and fathers, there is apt to be a shortage of manpower for the essential work which has to be done. In the urban districts large populations have, as it were, sprung up overnight. New communities have grown up in which the members bereft of their families or tribes, have no ties except the accident of finding themselves neighbours. The fact that these communities are for the most part comprised of an ever-changing population, does nothing to make things easier.

Thus we have societies which only a few years ago were almost entirely rural and which are now confronted with problems even greater than those which had to be faced in Europe at the time of the industrial revolution. Over-crowding in the towns, insanitary conditions, sickness and destitution are all problems which need urgently to be solved.

Education is more than ever vital where children are growing up without the influence of tribal tradition or a stable family life; and the protection of the labourer, not only in his work but in the long journeys he may be called upon to make between his home and his place of employment, is of the utmost necessity.

MODERN ENDEAVOUR

The success of any plan must obviously depend upon the goodwill of the people concerned. Every effort is being made to enlist the co-operation and enthusiasm of the people themselves. The training of Africans as teachers, medical assistants, nurses and agricultural demonstrators, etc., has made enormous strides of recent years. In some territories there is a fast developing system of native administration, and within these regions native authorities are largely responsible for developments among their own people. They collect taxes, control their own treasury, and provide and staff hospitals and schools from their own funds. In this way Africans are slowly coming to enjoy a pride of ownership and a sense of responsibility.

But while there are many areas such as these which are taking their first steps along the road to self-government; and while there are an ever-increasing number of Africans who are taking their place in the administration of their own country—these are in the vanguard. It must be remembered that at the same time there are still tribes, in the more remote areas, which to this day draw no more than a bare livelihood from the soil, and which go through a hunger period each year between eating one crop and waiting for the next. To these people such things as disease, pestilence and starvation are still just the inexplicable ways of nature which must be suffered and endured.

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Thus British Colonial Africa confronts us with an urgent challenge and an exciting opportunity in the field of social enterprise and human progress. This challenge is being actively taken up in such spheres as education, health, welfare and labour.

MALAYA

TERRITORIES

Malaya is altogether a smaller proposition when compared with the vastness of Africa and her problems. In size it is about equal to England without Wales, and it is divided into 11 territories: the Straits Settlements, with their capital at Singapore, which form a Crown Colony, the four Federated Malay States, and the five Unfederated Malay States, all of which are Protectorates.

As regards the Federated Malay States, British protection was sought (and confirmed in a series of treaties between 1874 and 1888), as a result of the inability of the reigning Sultans to control the lawlessness and disorder which was rife in their territories at that time. The treaties allowed the Sultans authority in all matters concerning religion and customs, but in all else the British had full control.

Similar agreements were made in 1909 with the Unfederated Malay States.

THE MALAYS

The impact of modern western civilization was not nearly so disturbing to the Malay as it was to the African. The Malays, in their traditional occupations as fishermen and cultivators, had no financia inducements towards change, and being unambitious they were little interested in the opportunities provided by the arrival of the white man and his activities, which were principally tin-mining and rubber planting. They had a higher standard of living than the Africans, and were safe in the knowledge that their independence in religious and cultural matters would be respected.

CHINESE AND INDIAN INFLUENCE

The outstanding result of this detachment of the native Malay from European enterprises was the large-scale importation of labour drawn from South China and India (and to a smaller extent from the Netherlands East Indies).

There are now approximately as many Chinese in the country as there are Malays.

In the Straits Settlements there had been some Chinese for many centuries, trading and tin-mining in a primitive way. But the majority migrated to the country in more recent times chiefly to work in European-controlled mines. Many of these have now settled and their descendants have gone on to adopt other trades and professions. At the

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time of the Japanese occupation, a considerable number owned tin mines and rubber estates of their own, and being on the whole a more energetic and go-ahead race than the Malays, Chinese influence was rapidly expanding and coming to play a prominent part in the life of the country. This large Chinese element will be a factor to be reckoned with when the question of self-government in Malaya eventually arises.

Indians, also, constituted a fairly large percentage of the population, particularly in the Federated States. The Indian Government maintained an active interest in their welfare, and at Kuala Lumpur there was a permanent Government agent who had the right to inspect Indian labour conditions.

The greater number of Malays were to be found in the coastal and country districts, engaged for the most part in fishing and agriculture—their principal agricultural product being rice. There were, however, a certain number of rubber plantations and tin-mines owned by Malays, and of latter years administrative jobs (the police force in particular) were being largely recruited from the Malays themselves.

FORTY YEARS OF PROGRESS

The great increase during the present century in the material wealth of Malaya, due to the growth of large-scale rubber and mining concerns, created a considerable revenue which the British Government did not hesitate to use for social services. Good roads and railways were made for comparatively easy communications and greatly facilitated the development of medical and health work. Although the inaccessibility of the rural areas, even in Malaya, presented great difficulties, they were not nearly so overwhelming as those which arose in such a very much larger, and relatively poorer and less developed country as Africa.

In Malaya, as in all tropical countries, the arch-enemy was the malaria-carrying mosquito. A relentless war had continued unabated for 40 years and although enormous advances had been made, the enemy had by no means been routed. It has been said that: "At the beginning of the century Malaya was as richly endowed with diseases as with natural wealth." This wealth, however, had been mobilised in a formidable way to combat the diseases, and enormous strides had been made.

Although Malaya had such great potential riches, it was also very vulnerable to fluctuations in the demand for rubber and tin, and this, of recent years, had led to considerable distress for both employer and employed alike.

With the damage and destruction wrought during the Japanese invasion and with the further destruction there will probably be before the Japanese are driven out again, it is impossible to say how much of the work which had been accomplished will have to be redone before Malaya will once again take her place as one of the most progressive and socially developed of the tropical Colonies.

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CEYLON

Ceylon covers an area of just over 25,000 square miles and has a population of about five million, which is fast increasing year by year. Since 1931 she has enjoyed a large degree of self-Government with the promise of full autonomy as soon as practicable after the war.

There is a similarity between the story of Malaya and that of Ceylon, as both have been largely developed by immigrant labour.

It was the British, when they took possession of the island from the Dutch in 1796, who first introduced coffee into Ceylon. The native Sinhalese however—although many of them were not strange, like the Africans, to the idea of wage-labour, which they had first experienced under the Portuguese and later under the Dutch—were reluctant to leave their own homes and crops, as well as the climate to which they were accustomed, to work on distant estates far up on the hills where the coffee grew. For this reason the British were obliged to import considerable numbers of Tamils from Southern India to work on the coffee plantations. These Indians formed the beginning of what has now grown into a very considerable Indian minority.

Later tea and rubber became more important than coffee, and as these would grow at lower levels, and consequently in a more agreeable climate and nearer to their own homes, the Sinhalese at last came to take a more prominent part in their country's productions. Indian labour, however, continued to be an important factor in the life of Ceylon—both in the plantations, and in the docks of the great port of Colombo.

There is a high and ever-increasing standard of social progress in Ceylon, and in every respect she is proving herself well fitted for the responsibility of self-government which, it is hoped, she will shortly acquire.

WESTERN PACIFIC ISLANDS

Fiji, Tonga (a Protectorate), the Gilbert and Ellice Islands and the Solomons are the most important British possessions from among the scattered chain of islands in the Western Pacific.

FIJI

It is only in Fiji that there is a European colony of any size, the members of which are mostly engaged in growing sugar. Here again, as in Malaya and Ceylon, large numbers of Indians have been imported to work on sugar plantations, with the result that they now comprise 44% of the total population, and being on the whole more sophisticated they are coming to acquire an increasingly dominant position in relation to the native Fijians. There is a legislative council in Fiji composed of an equal number of Europeans, Fijian and Indian representatives, and it is the custom that provincial native leaders or chiefs meet and confer with the Governor at regular intervals. Their recommendations are then put before the legislative council.

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The Indians, for the most part, have maintained their native Mohammedan or Hindu religions, but the majority of Fijians have been converted to Christianity by Methodist missionaries. Missionaries have been very active during the last hundred years or so, although the success they have met with has varied from island to island. In Fiji they have been largely responsible for the very considerable development there has been in every sphere of social activity.

TONGA

Tonga (or the Friendly Islands, as named by Captain Cook), has been a British Protectorate since 1900. Its inhabitants are distinctly progressive and intellectually superior to most other natives of the region. It is unique among the Pacific Islands in that it not only has its own Queen (of hereditary descent), but also an elaborate parliamentary system with a House of Lords, consisting of hereditary nobles, and a House of Commons, with a freely elected representation such as our own.

It was the missionaries in the 19th century who converted the Tongans to Christianity and, once established, these missionaries came to take an active part in political affairs. It was under their guidance that there developed this advanced parliamentary system, and it was a retired Wesleyan missionary who had the honour and distinction of being the first Prime Minister of Tonga.

GILBERT AND ELLICE ISLANDS

In the Gilbert and Ellice Islands only Europeans are represented on the legislative councils, and there are as yet no native advisory bodies of any kind. There is, however, a steady advance in the standard of living in these islands, and a prosperous phosphate industry has made certain financial resources available for the improvement of social conditions.

THE SOLOMONS

Like the Gilbert and Ellice Islands, the Solomons have as yet no native representation. The natives of these islands are undoubtedly more backward, and they do not even enjoy, as do the inhabitants of the Gilbert and Ellice Islands, the slight additional wealth and prosperity brought about by the possession of mineral resources. Such education as there is goes little beyond the most elementary bible teaching from the various missionary bodies. Other welfare services are as yet rather limited.

SUMMARY

The general level of education throughout these islands is very low indeed, and although the opportunities of education have greatly increased of recent years, particularly in Fiji and Tonga, it cannot be said that the natives of the Western Pacific Islands are progressing with any degree of speed along the road to self-government. It is rare (again with the exception of Fiji and Tonga, particularly the latter) that natives can be admitted into administrative service.

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The reasons for this apparent lack of enterprise can be more easily understood when the immense distances between one island and another are realised. This factor creates enough problems when the distances involved are on dry land as in Africa, but they become greater still when long sea journeys are involved. Added to which the poverty of the islands and the sparseness of the populations must also be taken into account. The major resources are entirely agricultural—the principal product throughout the islands being copra. But in some of the smaller islands the area of cultivable land is often very limited, resulting in great poverty and an extremely low standard of living for all the inhabitants.

WEST INDIES

Strictly speaking the term "West Indies" should mean the Caribbean Islands only, of which the most important are Jamaica and Trinidad. In actual fact, however, it is commonly used to include British Guiana and British Honduras, on the mainland of America, as well. The West Indies have one peculiarity as regards their background history. With the exception of a small, and in most places, fast dying out number of aboriginal Caribs or "Indians"—(only in British Guiana are there any considerable numbers)—nowhere, as in the other Colonies, is there a native community with any tradition of the soil or tribal society stretching way back into the ages. It was the European settlers who, in the 17th century, first imported large numbers of West African slaves, and it is the descendants of those who now form the native population of the West Indies.

It was the British who led the field in both the abolition of the slave trade in 1807 and in the subsequent abolition of slavery in 1833—and this in spite of the fact that it would undoubtedly entail considerable economic sacrifice.

In Trinidad and British Guiana there are also a considerable number of East Indians who were imported under the indenture system after the abolition of slavery. In Trinidad these form 34% of the population.

The products of the West Indies are many and varied, sugar being the most important, particularly in British Guiana. Mahogany (British Honduras), bauxite (British Guiana), arrowroot (St. Vincent), bananas, cocoa, cotton and limes are among the many other products of the Islands. Trinidad has both a pitch lake and an oilfield and is the only island in which mineral resources have so far been exploited.

The depression of the 1930's did much to aggravate the difficult economic position of the West Indies during a period of change which was in some ways similar to that which was apparent in this country during the industrial revolution. Poverty and overcrowding in the towns led to severe hardships. At first the pressure was slightly relieved by the emigration of workers to the mainland, but this was not for long, and as the effects of the depression increased large numbers of West Indians were dismissed and sent home again. Added to which, at about this time, employment came to an end for many thousands of West Indians who had been working on the Panama Canal.

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The war, owing to shortage of shipping space and the difficulties of exportation, did not ease the situation as much as might have been expected or hoped for. The demand for labour in the naval and air bases leased to the United States did, however, improve matters slightly.

It would be idle to pretend that social progress in the West Indies has been up till recently all it might be. But to-day, at a time when such things might pardonably have been postponed until after the war, it is encouraging to think that an all-out plan of improvement has really been put into motion and that very considerable sums of money have been set aside for the purpose.

In 1938 the Moyne Commission was appointed to make a full enquiry into social and economic conditions, and on the recommendation of this body a Comptroller (Sir Frank Stockdale), together with a staff of expert advisers, has been appointed to plan a complete programme of general welfare and development. As a result of this the West Indies have now acquired great prominence as a field of renewed enterprise and endeavour.

Since the leasing of bases to the United States there has also come into existence an Anglo-American Caribbean Commission which is an interesting and unique experiment in international co-operation as regards the social problems of the British and American Colonies in that particular area.

During the 19th century, since the abolition of slavery, a number of negroes left the plantations and bought small holdings of their own. From these there has evolved an important, and in some cases prosperous, peasant class. At the same time many negroes, having had enough of agriculture, found their way to the towns. They learned to read and write (taught by the Christian missionaries), opened small shops, and embarked on new professions. Gradually there came into being a new negro middle class. Some of these, or their descendants, soon became rich enough to send their sons to England or America to train as doctors or lawyers or whatever it might be. Those educated negroes are now coming to play an increasingly active part in the affairs of the West Indies.

In all the West Indian territories there is a certain, although limited electoral freedom, but only a comparatively small number of the negro inhabitants have the right to vote. In Jamaica, however, there has been the promise of a new Constitution which will entail universal adult suffrage, and which, it is hoped, may be introduced during the course of 1944.

CONCLUSION

It would be impossible to include Palestine or the Mediterranean Colonies in this brief survey, particularly as these present such completely different problems to those which arise in the tropical world.

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As can be seen, the British attitude of trusteeship is almost unconsciously changing to one of partnership and co-operation. We are shedding the rôle of heavy parent and assuming a relationship of mutual trust and understanding. Without for one moment relaxing in our war effort we are beginning to look ahead and to prepare for peace—the sort of peace in which there will be no room for the domination of the strong over the weak, or the rich over the poor, but where there will be security and freedom for all men whatever their race and whatever their beliefs.

As General Smuts, referring to the British Commonwealth, told the Empire Parliamentary Association in November, 1943 : " Surely people all over the world will look to this group of peoples comprising one-fourth of the human race, and see how they guide their destinies in peace and war along human lines of mutual helpfulness . . . This is a mission to mankind of goodwill, good government and human co-operation, a mission of freedom and human helpfulness in the perils that beset our human lot." We will fulfil that mission.

March, 1944.

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SOCIAL SERVICES IN THE COLONIES

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PART II—EDUCATION

FUNCTIONS OF COLONIAL EDUCATION

The word "education", especially as applied to the teaching of native peoples, has far wider implications than those of a school routine. Its meaning, in the words of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Colonel Stanley, "goes far beyond the classroom walls, far beyond the teacher's voice. It cannot only be found in books. It cannot be learnt by heart. It does not end with school days."

It is safe to say that on "education" hinges the success or failure of any scheme for improved standards of living in the colonies and, for this reason, of all the social services it is perhaps the most vital, for the capacity of the people themselves to participate actively and intelligently in any plans for their own welfare can only be acquired through learning. There can be no improved health conditions without the understanding and co-operation of those whose health it is hoped to improve—and the same must apply to all branches of social activity. It is therefore not so much, as Colonel Stanley emphasises, a question of text-books and trigonometry as a need "to promote the advancement of the community as a whole through the improvement of agriculture, the development of native industries, the improvement of health, the training of the people in their own affairs, and the inculcation of the ideals of citizenship and service. It must include the raising up of capable, trustworthy, public-spirited leaders of the people, belonging to their own race" ... *Memorandum on the Education of African Communities*, 1935.

There is, at the present time, a growing system of education throughout the Colonies, ranging from the most primitive little "Bush" school in Africa, consisting of little more than a mud hut with holes in the wall for windows and logs on the ground for benches, controlled by an African of usually limited learning—to such modern institutions as the co-educational College in West Africa or the University in Ceylon. Everywhere there is the underlying principle, not of destroying, but of conserving and enriching all that is best of native life. It

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is recognized, for instance, that the greatest care should be taken to foster and encourage native art and music—particularly in Africa and the West Indies where the people have inherited such considerable musical and artistic qualities. The Advisory Committee on Education strongly recommends that the pride of the people in their own artistic heritage must be stimulated in every possible way.

The whole conception of Colonial education has enormously expanded of recent years, as can be seen from the latest report of the Colonial Office entitled *Mass Education in African Society* (January, 1944). It has grown to include not only many different types of schools, designed to furnish the many different needs of the Colonial peoples, but also to take advantage of the unlimited opportunities of teaching by means of the wireless and the cinema, large numbers of people whom it had hitherto been hard to approach.

EARLY MISSIONARY TEACHING

There is no doubt that the contribution made to colonial education by the Missionary Bodies before the days of British administration is very great indeed.

Until comparatively recent times education of the native people was almost entirely in the hands of missionaries. They were concerned primarily with spreading the Christian gospel. They did not expect or wish to be responsible for the general education of native peoples. But in order to spread the gospel they needed the help of native catechists who could read the Bible, so they began to teach reading—from this there gradually developed a whole educational system. It was however in those early days, a system based inevitably on that which was current in England at the time, and it gave little consideration to the need of adapting education to local environment and circumstances.

To this day a very large percentage of the schools in Africa and the West Indies, as well as in the Pacific Islands, are still being run by Christian Missions, and there is a spirit of helpful co-operation between the Missions and the Colonial Office.

ADMINISTRATION

It was in 1923, largely at the suggestion of the Missionary Societies, that an *Advisory Committee on Native Education in Tropical Africa* was first set up. In 1928 the scope of this Committee was extended to cover the whole Colonial Empire and became the *Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies*. It maintains close contact with the Agricultural and Medical Advisory Committees, each of these three departments necessarily being an indispensable complement to the other two.

The *Colonial Education Service* provides the nucleus of those who are concerned in the general direction of education, such as inspectors and administrators. As regards teachers, with the exception of those

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to be found in the more advanced schools, it must be remembered that the great, and ever increasing majority are drawn from the colonial peoples themselves, and that the greater number of European teachers still belong to the various missionary services.

Special training courses dealing with Colonial conditions and native languages are available at the London University, and many missionaries and members of the Colonial Education Service have taken these courses to fit them for Colonial Service.

In all the African dependencies there are Advisory Boards of Education on which representatives of Europeans and native opinion sit together with senior officials of all departments concerned with education, also missionary representatives engaged in educational work. Africans are coming to fill increasingly important educational posts in their own country.

MASS EDUCATION

Mass education, with the accent on the " mass," is becoming a prominent feature in Colonial education. The realisation of this is clearly shown in the latest report of the Colonial Office, *Mass Education in African Society* (January, 1944), which although dealing with Africa in particular, can in many respects be regarded as applicable to the Colonies in general. It is seen that there is little virtue in training the odd individual, who may be a particularly apt pupil, to dizzy heights of academic learning, while leaving behind him vast masses of people who have not even had the advantage of the most elementary learning. Such a situation succeeds only in creating an unbridgeable gulf between the educated few and the many who are left behind.

This does not mean, of course, that the more progressive members of any community should be held in check. Far from it, for it is an understood thing that Africans themselves must be the main agents in improving African life, and likewise in the other Colonies. Without leadership from among the people themselves mass education, in the words of the report, would be " meaningless and fruitless". It is therefore vital to the success of any plan that large and ever-increasing numbers of Colonial peoples should be trained into playing a responsible and sympathetic part in every sphere of Colonial Social life.

With these ends in view, this latest report has not failed to stress the unusual opportunities which have now arisen since the voluntary enrolment of many thousands of Colonial people in the armed services. These men have shared experiences and dangers, discipline and training, with men of many other races. They have travelled in foreign countries, have seen new things and heard new ideas. When they return home such men, or many of them, will become potential leaders of untold value, and they will have grown to regard their own respective countries, with pride, as an indispensable factor in world affairs.

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JEANES TRAINING SCHOOLS

An interesting experiment in the training of community leaders was started in Africa in 1923 on the advice of American experts who had found a similar system successful in Negro villages in the United States.

These schools are named after Miss Anna T. Jeanes who originally founded their American counterparts.

They are run on the lines of a model village—buildings, apparatus and implements being used such as would be available in a native village. Married teachers, who may take their children with them, are selected for training, and while the husband studies methods of village improvement in agriculture, housing and sanitation, his wife learns the elements of child welfare, dairy work and the principles of nutrition. Village welfare committees are then supervised by those community leaders and their wives who have taken this course.

NATIVE-CONTROLLED SCHOOLS

As might be expected, most progress has been made in those colonies where native administration is most fully developed.

In many parts of Africa there are schools which are entirely maintained by native administration and financed by native treasury.

In Ceylon, where there is a fully fledged system of local governments a statutory education committee has been appointed in each of the local government districts.

In the Unfederated Malay States village schools managed by committees of elders were first initiated in 1935. The villages gave the land, built the school, and had powers to appoint and dismiss the teacher. The Government inspected the schools and paid a contribution towards the upkeep of the teacher; the greater part of this, however, was derived, in traditional fashion, from presents from the villagers.

In Tonga the native Government has managed schools since 1882. Primary education is compulsory for both girls and boys, and it is claimed that the population is 100% literate.

In Fiji a number of schools were given up by a missionary society in 1931 and were taken over by the Provincial Councils.

RURAL COMMUNITY SCHOOLS

There have been many experiments in different types of schools, varying always according to the demands and circumstances of the locality.

In Ceylon a new type of school was opened in 1932. Instead of the usual "literary" school syllabus the subjects to be taught were divided into four groups: health; study of the locality; occupations; and literature, art and music, etc. The first part of the day is spent

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outside the school, partly building, farming, digging wells, etc., and partly in the study of the neighbourhood. And the second part is devoted to class-room work developed from the experiences of the morning.

In Malaya the Malay vernacular schools have given considerable attention to native crafts, teaching, gardening, poultry keeping, basket making, net making, weaving, soap making, block printing and book-keeping.

An outstanding example of rural schools in the West Indies is the Glen Community School in St. Vincent, which was originally established by a Methodist Mission in 1932. It began as a farm school, providing its own milk, eggs, meat, fruit and vegetables, and also producing fruit and vegetables for sale ; and it is now being developed as " a school within a farm," the farm being no longer merely a source of produce, but a means of demonstrating the most effective farming and agricultural methods.

In the West Indies the most serious handicap to all educational schemes is the acute shortage of adequately trained teachers and the lack of funds for salaries and buildings.

PUBLIC SCHOOLS

In Africa, King's College, Budo, is one of the earliest and most oustanding examples of the native public school. It was founded in 1906 on the summit of a hill where for many centuries the Kings of Uganda have been crowned, and even to this day coronations are still performed in the quadrangle of the school.

To be a " Budonian " is something to be proud of, and the tradition of the school is as jealously upheld as is that of any public school in England. The staff is half European and half African and a sense of good fellowship, pride and loyalty is as keenly felt by the teachers as by the students. The prefects are very largely responsible for the discipline of the school and they are thus imbued from an early age with a sense of fairness and a spirit of leadership which will serve them well in later life.

The standard of learning is high, and in addition to this, much time is devoted to practical experience, whether in farming or carpentry, or whatever else may suit the requirements or inclinations of any particular boy.

EDUCATION AT LABOUR CENTRES

In Malaya and Ceylon it has been made compulsory for estates to provide schools for the children of their employees. No such obligation has as yet been imposed in other parts of the Colonial Empire. Progressive estate owners in the West Indies, however, do provide such schools, and recently a certain number have also been started on estates in East Africa.

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On the copper belt in Northern Rhodesia the various missionary Societies have combined to maintain a single school system. There are schools at each of the large mines, planned on uniform lines so that if a child moves with his parents from one mine to another, he can be admitted to the new school without serious dislocation of his work.

EDUCATION OF GIRLS

The importance of education for girls and women has been very much stressed, and it has been pointed out that "if you educate a man you educate an individual but educate a woman and you educate a family."

Girls' education has almost everywhere lagged behind that of boys because mothers are usually reluctant to spare their daughters from household work. Among those Moslem peoples where women are secluded, British administrations have been careful not to go too far ahead of popular feeling in urging the importance of schools for girls. Within the last 20 years, however, many prejudices have been overcome and the number of girls attending school is steadily increasing.

Three types of education for girls must be considered. Firstly a small but increasing number of girls are anxious to have the same education as their brothers and have shown that they can profit by it. There is, for instance, already a woman barrister in Nigeria. Secondly, there is vocational training, which is becoming increasingly important, particularly in the training of teachers, nurses and midwives. And thirdly, there have been experiments in education designed as a preparation for marriage. There is a Girls' School in Northern Rhodesia which was started in 1915 and which is organised as far as possible on the lines of village life. All the subjects taught in class—geography, biology, arithmetic—are directly related to village life. Much time is given to sewing, weaving and pottery. All the work of cooking and keeping the houses clean is done by the girls themselves, and they take it in turns to help at the weekly clinic attached to the maternity hospital—known as the "House of Life"—close to the school. Many of them take a two-year course and then, while still living at the school, go out and teach in the village nearby.

In Southern Nigeria there are a number of Marriage Training Schools with African women in charge, and in Jamaica special grants have been made for the extension of domestic science centres to train girls for home management.

Since, however, the age of marriage is so young, and since at present the proportion of girls going to school is so small, the most important approach to the improvement of home conditions remains, for the present, through community work such as that of the Jeanes Schools.

CO-EDUCATION

One of the most go-a-head experiments in West Africa has been the opening of a co-educational college at Achimota.

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Twenty years ago Achimota was nothing but a tiny village situated on a low, waterless and uncultivated hill. To-day it is a prosperous and well-planned college complete with swimming pool, playing fields, a nature reserve, a demonstration farm, and a model village for the college employees such as would gladden the heart of any American.

It was opened in 1927 and its purpose was described as being "to provide on African soil an education equal in technical quality to the best that can be provided in England, and at the same time adapted to African conditions and requirements."

Its 700 students range from five-year olds to men and women of 20 or more. The problems which such a pioneer establishment has come up against are many and varied. The number of different vernaculars spoken by the students and their varying command of English. The difficulties of introducing western culture to students who have no European background against which to give it meaning—and at the same time the care which had to be taken to preserve the students' respect and love for all that was good in African culture—these and many others. Much, however, is being done to solve the problems and Achimota can rightfully be proud of the considerable number of useful and helpful citizens she has contributed to the building of a new Africa.

THE LANGUAGE OF EDUCATION

The Advisory Committee on Education accepts the view that the language best known and understood by the child on his entry into school life is the most effective medium in the early stages of that child's education, but that English should be taught as a subject, and that advanced education can only be given in English. This leads to the question of providing text-books in vernacular languages. In some regions—parts of Africa, and the Pacific Islands—this is by no means a simple matter. The text-books must be used, not only in the small village school, but in the central school at which the child makes the transition from learning in his mother-tongue to learning in English; and if this school serves an area populated by a number of small groups speaking different languages, it will clearly have to select one from among them, with the result that for many children education is not, in fact, given through the medium of the mother-tongue.

The provision of literature in a language which has never previously been written presents its own problems. Most native languages have been first reduced to writing by missionaries, whose ideas on phonetics did not always agree. There have been cases where two systems of orthography, devised by rival missions, have been clung to with as much passion as could be devoted to a fundamental doctrinal point.

Another important problem is the provision of literature other than text-books. Reading is not like swimming or riding a bicycle, some-

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thing that once learnt is never forgotten. A child who spends a year or two at school, and then goes back to a home where he never sees a book, will soon forget what he has learnt. To meet this need efforts have been made in Africa and Malaya to produce a supply of vernacular literature that can be read with interest by adults. The latest report of the Colonial Office, which has already been mentioned, *Mass Education in Africa*, 1944, emphasises the need for still further effort in this direction.

The universal desire of Africans to learn English—which, it is fully recognised, must be met by adequate teaching—has to some extent hindered the development of African languages. But the realisation that Europeans regard African languages as worthy of study has done much to increase interest in and respect for them among the Africans themselves.

ADULT EDUCATION

Adult education by means of evening classes has been organised in the towns of some of the colonies, particularly in Malaya and Hong-Kong, where it was faced with the difficulty that many of the students had a very poor grounding.

Evening continuation classes have recently been started experimentally at various centres in Jamaica. There has also been a great extension of adult education in Ceylon in recent years.

The use of the cinema is being largely extended, particularly in health work; though among people as unsophisticated as the Africans great care has to be taken not to complicate the essential message of the film with irrelevant details on which they may over-concentrate to the detriment of the lesson intended.

More and more use, also, is being made of the wireless as a means of adult education in the widest sense. As only a small minority of the population of any colony possess receiving sets, for broadcasts to reach the average man for whom they are intended, arrangements have to be made for "mass listening." This is done both by administrations and by private individuals such as the managers of sugar estates in the West Indies. Talks are broadcast from Government controlled stations explaining the latest innovations which the Government Departments are seeking to introduce, and in this way new measures can be brought home to great numbers of people who in the past would have just resignedly accepted them or, more probable still, have disregarded them as being more incomprehensible vagaries of the European.

ADVANCED EDUCATION

Within recent years plans have been made for the establishment of institutions of university standard in each of the colonial areas.

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The University of Hong-Kong was established in 1911. It has faculties of medicine, engineering and arts. It was originally thought of as a centre for the spread of higher education in China, but it did not succeed in attracting many Chinese students from the mainland, chiefly because the sons of wealthy Chinese preferred to combine their studies with seeing the Western World. It did, however, provide higher education for Chinese students from the colony itself and from Malaya.

Plans for the establishment of a university in Ceylon were originally made in 1929. There were various delays, however, and it was not until 1943 that it actually began to function. It incorporates the University College of Colombo and the Colombo Medical College. There are special provisions for oriental studies.

Raffles College in Singapore was, before the present Japanese occupation, aiming at attaining university level during the course of the next few years.

In Africa the aim is to have one centre for higher education in the east and one in the west. Makerere College at Rampala has already become the East African centre.

Colonel Stanley, Secretary of State for the Colonies, recently reminded the House of Commons of the need to " encourage the constructive growth of these Colonial universities and colleges and to accelerate their wise development. It is clear", he pointed out, " that in that task we have to look to our home universities for guidance and help . . . It takes little imagination to picture what a tremendous gain it would be if in a way these Colonial colleges could be admitted as partners in the circle of the home universities . . . It would not only be the colonial centres which would gain. . . . but we should gain here too. The home universities might be much enriched by the knowledge of the Colonies which they would acquire and from the visits of teachers from the Colonies, just as we might send people to teach them."

CONFLICTING IDEALS

How different are such words compared with those of a German Gauleiter in Poland, who said: " We teachers should instil into the children a hatred of all things Polish. The Poles must forever be placed on the lower level where they belong." The Nazis, in their wilful and ignorant arrogance, deliberately foster with regard to the Poles, and with them all Slav peoples, an attitude which we would hardly think of adopting with regard to the most backward native in Africa, for the Nazi ideal is to train Poles and all others towards enslavement; whereas our own, as is being proved throughout the Colonial Empire, is to train all peoples, however backward, towards improved conditions of living and eventual self-government.

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The Nazis fight for the leadership principle, with their followers designed to be unthinking slaves. But we, while we recognise the need for leaders, realise that what, in the words of Colonel Stanley, " is just as essential in a democracy is the training of the led, because the success of self-government does not depend only on the capacity of the leaders to lead, but also on the ability of the community to respond."

May, 1944.

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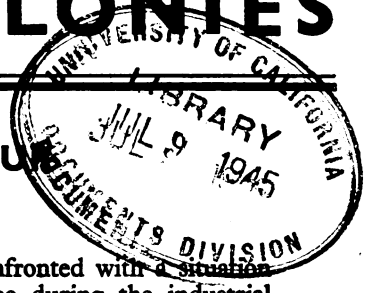

PART III—LABOUR

INTRODUCTION

The British Colonial Empire is to-day confronted with a situation very much like that which arose in Europe during the industrial revolution of the 19th century.

A hundred years ago Britain, in common with the rest of Europe, was already experiencing, not altogether painlessly, the birth of large-scale industry. The sudden demand for great numbers of workers from unexpected places caused influxes of people into areas which lend little if any provision for large populations. Poverty, over-crowding and insanitary conditions abounded—added to which, in those early days, employers had little or no sense of obligation to their workers. There was no control of wages or conditions of work, and insufficient pay drove the women and children to seek employment as well as the men. Family life was broken up and education became impossible.

The rapid growth of a social conscience in this country, however, soon led to the adoption of such measures as the prohibition of child labour; compulsory education; factory acts to regulate working conditions; the fixing of minimum wages; workmen's compensation, which later led to the whole conception of social security as we now know it; and lastly, the official recognition of Trade Unions.

Similar problems are now cropping up in the Colonies. The social conscience, however, of the British people to-day, coupled with the realisations of just how much we owe both to the Colonies themselves and to the workers within them, should help to ensure that the Colonial people will profit from the experiences of Britain and that they will not suffer the miseries of 19th century Europe.

Lord Cranborne, when he was Secretary of State for the Colonies in 1942, stated in the House of Lords (3.12.42) that the British Government attached the greatest importance to the institution of satisfactory labour standards and labour machinery on a modern

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basis in the Colonies, and he ended by paying this just tribute to the contribution the Colonies have made in this war: "We owe much to the Colonies. Let us never forget that what stood between Hitler and absolute victory in 1940, after the fall of France, was not Britain, an isolated island standing alone in the sea, but the British Empire, the commonwealth of free peoples and dependencies, of which the Colonial Empire forms so essential a part."

LABOUR SERVICES

Although there were already Labour Departments of a kind in certain Colonies (the earliest being one which was set up in Malaya in 1912), the first big step towards a really comprehensive organisation of labour services was taken by the Colonial Office in 1938 when *Major Orde Browne*, who is an expert of long experience on native labour, was appointed as Labour Adviser to the Secretary of State for the Colonies. Since his appointment Major Orde Browne has made extensive and invaluable studies of labour conditions in many of the British Colonies. This was followed in 1942 by the creation of a *Colonial Labour Advisory Committee* formed for the purpose of advising the Secretary of State on all questions connected with Colonial labour.

In 1937 there were Labour Departments in only 11 of the Colonial Dependencies, but by 1941 the number had already increased to 33. The nucleus of staff for these departments is provided largely from officers of the *Colonial Administrative Service*.

LABOUR OFFICERS

The activities of labour officers are many and varied. They must organise labour exchanges; compile statistics on such questions as unemployment and the cost of living (no easy matter when dealing with people who are largely illiterate and who often tend to be suspicious of questioning); inspect places of work; encourage and assist the proper development of trade unions; be in constant touch with employers and workers, acting as informal peace-maker when required; and also see that the labour legislation of their particular Colony is kept up to date. In addition to being able to perform such multifarious duties a good general knowledge of sanitation, housing, dietetics and diseases affecting labour, an acquaintance with the tribal customs of the Colony concerned and fluency in at least one of the local languages, is also desirable, if not essential. It is therefore not surprising that some difficulty is experienced in finding officers in anything like adequate numbers, particularly in wartime. One of the aims of the Labour Departments, however, is to train as many local people as possible for the work, and in several of the Dependencies responsible posts are already being filled by Colonials. In Ceylon, for example, the whole labour staff except for the Controller consists of Sinhalese.

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LABOUR ADVISORY BOARDS

Eighteen of the Colonies now have Labour Advisory Boards. These consist of representatives of employers and workers with an independent chairman. They perform useful work in promoting good relations between employer and employed, and enable agreement to be reached on such matters as wages, unemployment, relief work, recruiting, etc.

LABOUR LEGISLATION AND THE I.L.O.

The Conventions and recommendations of the *International Labour Office* have had a tremendous effect on Colonial labour legislation and it would be hard to over-rate the good work which has been done by this body.

The British Government, as a State member of the I.L.O., is under treaty obligation to apply any Convention which it ratifies, not only to this country, but to the non-self-governing Colonies as well—except, of course, where local conditions make it inapplicable. Twenty-five I.L.O. Conventions, for instance, have so far been ratified by the British Government, some of which apply expressly to tropical countries with large indigenous populations whereas others are designed primarily for more highly industrialised countries.

Among the most important of the Conventions which apply mainly to the Colonies are those dealing with the regulation and ultimate *suppression of forced labour*, the *recruiting of labour*, the progressive abolition of *Penal Sanctions* as a means of enforcing obedience to contracts, and the regulating of *contracts of employment*. Others of a more general character which have been widely applied in the Colonies and elsewhere include those relating to *minimum wages* and the employment of *women, young persons and children*. Many of these, such as compulsory old-age and sickness insurance, are in advance of present colonial conditions. There has been, however, a considerable extension in recent years of workmen's compensation laws following the general principles of the I.L.O. Conventions.

As regards the employment of children the minimum age in almost every Colony, with few exceptions, is 14 years. In one or two cases, Uganda and Jamaica for instance, it is even higher.

Conscripted labour is only permitted for purposes strictly essential to the conduct of war or when the maintenance of the life of a community is at stake. It is used as sparingly as possible and will be continued no longer than is absolutely necessary.

TRADE UNIONS

Trade Unionism in the Colonies is still in its very early stages, but it is nevertheless steadily developing and receives every encouragement from the British and Colonial Governments.

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There are now about 300 registered Trade Unions in the various Dependencies most of which have been formed during the last five or six years. Impressive, however, though these are in quantity, as the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Colonel Stanley, pointed out to the House of Commons recently (13.7.43), " they are rather uneven in quality." In the more advanced Colonies they are making rapid progress, whereas in others, where there are less stable communities and where there are probably large numbers of migrant workers drawn from far and wide, with little education and perhaps not even a common language (which is frequently the case in Africa), the difficulties become great indeed. In these cases trade union leaders are sometimes men who are not actually engaged in the particular trade they are representing, but who have acquired the position simply by reason of a better education or owing to some other special qualifications. While such a situation as this may well be unavoidable at times, it is obviously undesirable as a permanent state of affairs. Steady progress is, however, undoubtedly being made and there is the added advantage, as Colonel Stanley also said in the House of Commons (13.7.43), that " experience in the organisation and leadership of trade unions is one of the best methods of education for political responsibility."

. . . . . .

The following, very briefly, is the scene in some of the principal colonial areas in which labour organisation is being set:

EAST AFRICA

Except for the gold, copper, tin and diamond mines which afford employment for large numbers of workers, the activities of East Africa are still mostly agricultural. There has been so far little industrialisation and the number of factories is negligible. The principal agricultural crops are cotton, coffee, tobacco, sugar, sisal, etc. There are also some rubber plantations which have acquired great importance since the loss of Malaya.

One of the chief features of East African labour is the immense distances from which workers are drawn. The most usual means of conveyance is by foot, sometimes covering hundreds of miles and taking many months, perhaps interspersed by short spells of work on the way.

Although there is a system of recruiting in East Africa which is strictly regulated by the International Labour Convention, only a comparatively small proportion of men avail themselves of this or are under any definite contract to work when they arrive at their destination. They tend to regard legal contracts with suspicion, partly perhaps in memory of earlier days when recruiting was subject to little if any control and contracts were enforced by penal sanctions, and partly because of the African's dislike of regimentation, preferring to be independent and to look around for himself.

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Working conditions at most of the East African and Rhodesian mines are usually good, with ample rations, medical and hospital facilities and adequate housing. One of the main problems, however, is the fact that the great majority of workers are parted from their wives and children whom they have left behind in their native villages. An increasing number, it is true, now take their wives with them and some of the mining companies provide for family life, but for the most part there are not many amenities in the mining areas for the settling of large populations.

WEST AFRICA

With the exception of a few large plantations in the British Cameroons the employment of labour by Europeans in this part of Africa is almost entirely confined to the mines, of which there are many. The Gold Coast is one of the largest sources of diamonds in the world, and gold; tin, manganese and coal are also to be found in West Africa.

Agriculture, of which the most important products are cocoa, palm oil and groundnuts, is almost entirely in native hands, and many Africans are themselves employees of wage labour.

There are also a small number of factories, and another considerable source of employment is the West African ports and railways.

In contrast to East Africa where there tends to be a shortage of labour, in the West the supply exceeds the demand. The position of the West African worker is therefore inclined to be more precarious than that of his neighbour from the East. In view of this abundance of labour the professional recruiter is superfluous and written contracts are rare.

Trade Unions are becoming increasingly numerous, although rather erratic, and as Major Orde Browne points out in his report on labour conditions in West Africa (Cmd. 6277): "varied and curious ideas of the function of such a body are frequently expressed and unexpected aims and activities are sometimes advocated."

One striking feature of West African life is the readily accepted obligation of a wage-earner to support not only his wife (or wives) and children, but sometimes also an almost unlimited number of relatives and dependents. This is a factor which considerably complicated any reliable estimates as regards the cost of living.

MALAYA

The most noticeable feature in Malaya has been the very large percentage of immigrant labour, composed of Chinese, Indians and, to a lesser extent, Javanese. Labour problems were therefore mostly concerning immigrant workers rather than the indigenous people themselves. The Malays, on the whole, have little inclination for wage labour, and prefer such independent occupations as fishing or the cultivation of their own land.

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The two largest sources of employment in Malaya have been the tin mines, in which Chinese workers predominated (some of the mines were owned and managed by Chinese), and the rubber plantations on which the workers were for the most part Indian.

The large-scale development of the rubber plantation took place almost entirely during the present century, since the invention of the pneumatic tyre and the subsequent immense demand for rubber. The prices, however, fluctuated wildly. Large fortunes were made and lost as prices rose or fell (they dropped from 3/- a pound in 1925 to 2d. in 1932). This speculative element was not without repercussions on the worker and the conditions under which he worked, particularly on the smaller estates.

The Indian Government has always shown great concern in the fate of its nationals working abroad, and there was a permanent agent at Kuala Lumpur whose job it was to inspect and supervise Indian conditions of work. An *Indian Immigration Department* was set up as early as 1907 to deal with the problems of Indian indentured labour. An *Immigration Fund*, financed by compulsory contributions from the planters, was also established to pay all costs of travel, food and medical inspection. Since conditions and wages were better in Malaya than they were in South India, there was little difficulty in persuading the Indians to go, particularly as they were entitled to revisit their homes at stated intervals, and often could be accompanied by their wives and children. There was therefore always a constant flow of labour between Malaya and India.

Chinese immigration, unfortunately, was less well organised and less strictly controlled. The Chinese Government did not insist on such detailed requirements as did the Government of India, and responsibility for the well-being of Chinese workers rested solely with the *Chinese Protectorate* in Malaya. Many efforts were made by the various authorities to evolve an ordered system of immigration on the same lines as that applicable to Indians, but agreement had still not been reached at the time of the Japanese invasion.

Tin and rubber, although the most important, are by no means the only products of Malaya, and there are many other sources of employment. In addition to the tin mines there is an important coal-mining industry, and some gold; and additional agricultural crops include coconuts, palm oil, sugar, copper, etc. There are also a number of factories, foremost amongst them being the pineapple canning industry which is the second largest in the world.

CEYLON

In Ceylon a very similar situation is to be found as that which exists in Malaya. The labour market is composed of two distinct elements: the native Sinhalese and the immigrant Indians.

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The Sinhalese themselves, like the Malays, were mostly, until recently, of the peasant class, preferring the independent cultivation of their land to any form of wage labour. The rapid growth of population, however, is now driving many Sinhalese to seek employment where they can find it, and a menacing unemployment problem has led the Ceylon Government to introduce a preferential policy requiring the employment of a definite percentage of Sinhalese in the various Government undertakings. The proportion of Sinhalese to Indians on the plantations is also rising.

Large numbers of Indians were first imported to work on the coffee plantations established by the British when they took possession of the Island in 1796. The coffee crops were later virtually exterminated by disease, and tea has now become the staple industry, with rubber and coconuts in the second and third places. Indian labour, however, has remained an important feature of the Island, not only in the plantations but in the towns as well, particularly in the docks of Colombo, and Indians now constitute a very considerable minority.

As in Malaya, the Indian Government maintains an active interest in the well-being of its subjects, and there is a permanent Government agent who has the right to inspect and supervise Indian labour conditions and to investigate any complaints. Recently, however, owing to a difference between the two Governments which arose over the newly adopted preferential policy, the Indian Government has imposed a labour immigration to Ceylon. This has created a complication which deeply affects the workers. Many Indians now regard themselves as more or less permanent residents of Ceylon, but in spite of this the very highly developed family feeling of most Indians makes the link with their own country very strong, and periodical visits to their relations and homes in India are almost essential. Now, however, if they go to India as they were in the habit of doing, they cannot return. This matter is the subject of urgent discussion between the two Governments.

Indian workers are not bound by any long-term contracts, and they are free to leave an estate at any time on giving a month's notice.

Mining in Ceylon is only on a small scale and is confined to plumbago and precious stones. The bulk of the labour employed for this is Sinhalese.

PACIFIC ISLANDS

The labour situation in the Pacific Island Colonies is very varied. In *Fiji*, the *New Hebrides* and the *Gilbert and Ellice Islands* imported Indian labour is again to be found, and in *Fiji*, particularly, the Indians have attained a strikingly dominant position in relation to the native Fijians. Until 1917 Indian indentured labour was employed on the sugar estates, but, when the indeture system ceased many Indians took up land from the Fijians and became farmers, producing there own crops.

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In *Tonga* wage labour is of little or no importance as there are no large plantations and no industries.

In the *Gilbert and Ellice Islands* a considerable source of employment is provided by an important phosphate industry.

In the *Solomons* where the staple crop is coconuts, sufficient labour is usually obtainable from within the group itself, but since most of the plantations are concentrated on a few sparsely populated islands workers still have to be brought overseas, sometimes for distances of three or four hundred miles.

WEST INDIES

As in most tropical Colonies the mainstay of the West Indies is agriculture, run principally on the plantation system. The actual products vary from island to island; sugar, bananas, cocoa and cotton all being well to the fore. Only in Jamaica and Trinidad are there any appreciable number of factories. Trinidad also has both a pitch lake and an oilfield, and is the only one of these islands where mineral resources have so far been exploited.

The West Indian workers consist for the most part of negroes who are descendants of those imported from Africa during the days of slavery, and who now form the native population of these Colonies. Of the original natives the Caribs, only a few scattered groups remain, the greatest number being found in British Guiana. In addition to these there are a certain number of East Indians who were imported under the indenture system and who have never returned to their native lands.

During the 18th and early 19th centuries the West Indian plantations were entirely manned by African slaves, and since no wages were paid and only food and shelter had to be provided, workers cost little to maintain, and it scarcely mattered if the supply of labour was somewhat larger than necessary, as was frequently the case. This factor has directly affected the over-population of the islands to-day.

The abolition of slavery in 1833 created a very profound change—not only for the employer, who was no longer assured a cheap and abundant supply of labour, but also for the slaves, many of whom left the plantations, having had enough of agriculture, but who were no longer certain of food and shelter or of finding other employment.

A solution to this sudden shortage of labour on the plantations was found by the importation of East Indian workers under the indenture system. These men were brought over under contract for a certain period with the rights to a passage home, but in many cases they and their descendants have remained ever since. The East Indians have thus come to form an important element in the population. The indenture system continued in some of the Colonies up to 1917.

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One of the most outstanding features of West Indian life, and where it differs so greatly from most other Colonies, is the comparative absence of a herded peasant class. After the abolition of slavery a number of negroes, it is true, bought small holdings of their own, and settled down to cultivate their own land; but these were only a small minority.

The same, later, applied to the East Indians who, also, were entirely dependent on the plantations and had no homes to which they could turn. It had been customary, either while they were still under contract or later when they were employed in the ordinary way, for them to be housed in barracks situated on the plantations. This was satisfactory enough during the days of prosperity and plentiful employment, but the middle of the 1920's saw the beginning of the economic depression which swept the West Indies, and which lasted right up to the outbreak of the present war—added to which each of the main West Indian crops at about the same time was devastated by disease. With the resulting threat of unemployment workers were not only faced with the loss of their jobs, but at the same time of their homes. For this reason the more considerate employers, reluctant to dismiss more workers than they could help, were forced to introduce a system of part-time employment which entailed a drastic reduction of individual wages.

As the depression spread a further complication arose with the repatriation of many hundreds of West Indian emigrants who had found employment overseas, particularly on the Panama Canal. At the same time the steady increase in the population did nothing to ease the situation, and serious problems arose of large-scale unemployment.

The war, owing to the difficulties of exportation, has not helped matters from an agricultural point of view as much as might have been hoped for. A considerable demand for labour, however, on the naval and air bases leased to the United States has helped a lot.

One of the methods most frequently advocated as a partial solution to the poverty and distress of these islands is that of land settlement schemes, whereby a class of peasants could have homes of their own and could earn a small income cultivating the land. The important thing here, it has been stressed, would be to concentrate mainly on food production rather than on exportable crops, which leave the small producer so completely at the mercy of fluctuating markets or plant diseases. Such schemes are under urgent consideration.

As regards labour questions proper, since the appointment of Sir Frank Stockdale as Comptroller of Development and Welfare in 1940, these have received considerable attention, and great progress has been made towards the proper introduction of labour organisation on modern lines.

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CONCLUSION

Such, briefly, is the machinery which is being put into motion and the scene in which it must work. It is only a beginning and much still remains to be done. It is evident, however, that there is a greater feeling of co-operation and fellowship with the peoples of those distant lands, and a greater interest in colonial problems than there has ever been before. Our war is their war too; and just as the workers of this country hope for peace and security to come, so do they.

April, 1944.

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B. DEFENSE

MINISTRY OF INFORMATION

SOCIAL SERVICES IN THE COLONIES

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PART IV—HEALTH

I—THE ORGANISATION OF HEALTH SERVICES

In the old days the poverty or wealth of any Colony used to determine the extent to which health or other services could be carried out. The greater the poverty the greater the disease and the less there was that could be done about it. That, fortunately, is no longer the case to-day. The statement of policy on *Colonial Development and Welfare*, 1940, firmly established the principle that the Colonies should have, not the Social Services which they can afford, but those which they need. The great shortage—made all the greater by the demands of war—of trained personnel, either native or European, is at present, however, a serious handicap to the carrying out of new health schemes on an adequate scale. But as time goes on an ever-increasing number of natives are being fitted for responsible work among their own people, as doctors, nurses, dispensers, sanitary inspectors, etc. But fully qualified people, particularly doctors, cannot be created over-night—so the process of training adequate numbers of native medical personnel to meet the requirements of the 63 million inhabitants of the British Colonies is bound to be slow.

It is not always remembered, when thinking of the speed or otherwise with which medical services are put into operation in the Colonies, what tremendous difficulties there are to contend with. Not only is there the widespread ignorance of hygiene and sanitation, the poverty and the malnutrition, but far more baffling still, there are the prejudices and superstitions of so many native peoples. Also, where many instinctively distrust, there are some who have an almost overwhelming faith in the power of modern medicine, which sometimes presents unexpected complications. For example, there are such stories as those referred to by Dr. A. G. H. Smart (Medical Adviser to the Secretary of State for the Colonies) in a broadcast talk a few months ago (26th February, 1943), when he told of a native who had been specially fitted with an artificial eye to replace one of his own and who, after a few minutes, tore it out and threw it on the floor

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with disgust because he found he couldn't see with it. Or another who described to a doctor at some length some pains which had been troubling him, and it was only after he had allowed the doctor to give him a dose of medicine to cure the pains that he said: "Perhaps I should explain that it is my wife who has the pains that I have just described, and not myself." As Dr. Smart pointed out, in his talk, such incidents are not just isolated stories of what to us seems like extraordinary and unusual naïveté. They are commonplace occurrences in a world where modern science as we know it is still strange and incomprehensible. Such incidents cannot be dismissed as being merely tiresome or amusing; they must be faced up to and understood, and, above all, they must be sympathetically dealt with.

These, and many others like them, are but a few of the more unexpected difficulties which daily confront the men and women of the Colonial Medical Services. It is not enough for them to be merely good doctors or good nurses as the case may be. They need to know the people they are working for—their habits and their history—and not only to know them, but to understand them too.

There are three groups of bodies concerned with the improvement of health conditions in the Colonial Empire. The first have their headquarters in Britain, the second are international, and the third are within the Colonies themselves.

1. BRITISH ORGANISATIONS

At the Colonial Office there is a Chief Medical Adviser and two Assistant Medical Advisers attached to the Staff of the Secretary of State. A Colonial Medical Advisory Committee keeps in close touch with the services in individual Colonies by examining the annual reports of medical departments, interviewing medical officers home on leave and in various other ways. It makes recommendations on medical policy to the Secretary of State, and special advisory committees on particular problems (as, for instance, the Nutrition Committee in 1936), are set up from time to time as the need arises.

The *London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine* (London University), which was founded by Sir Patrick Manson in 1899, is an important centre of research and a training ground for Colonial workers. In the same building is the *Bureau of Hygiene and Tropical Diseases* which has as its principal function the collecting of all available information of hygiene and tropical diseases for the benefit of workers in public health and tropical medicine throughout the world.

A committee has now been appointed to investigate the establishment of a new Tropical Diseases Hospital and Centre in London to replace the one which was destroyed during the blitz. The main object of such a scheme is to provide students coming from the Colonies with the best training and experience it is possible to give them.

There are various other Research Organisations in this country, including an important School of Tropical Medicine in Liverpool.

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2. INTERNATIONAL BODIES

The *Health Section of the League of Nations*, created in 1923, carried out work of great value on tropical diseases, public health services, standardisation of vaccines, etc. It was also responsible for the *Epidemic Intelligence Bureau* at Singapore which, until the outbreak of war, transmitted to tropical countries a weekly summary of telegraphic reports regarding epidemic diseases.

The *International Health Division of the Rockefeller Foundation* has rendered untold service to the cause of medicine throughout the tropics, and it has financed and executed many campaigns against disease in the British Colonies.

3. HEALTH SERVICES WITHIN THE COLONIES

(a) Doctors

All Colonial Dependencies except the very small have their own medical departments, and each of them, in addition to the primary concern of treating disease and promoting public health, carries out what research work time and circumstances will allow. Members of the Colonial Medical Service are faced with appalling difficulties in view of the inadequacy of their numbers and the magnitude of their task. It is, however, the declared aim of British policy to throw open posts to qualified members of local populations and, more important still, to provide the education which will enable them to qualify for such posts.

In most of the Colonies medical training was one of the earliest forms of vocational education to be given, and the standard of Colonial Medical Schools is constantly rising. There are now a considerable number of these schools, among the oldest being the *Ceylon Medical College* at Colombo which was opened in 1870, and which is now part of the University of Ceylon; and the *Central Medical School at Suva* in Fiji which was founded in 1884, and which has now, with the assistance of a substantial grant from the Rockefeller Foundation, as well as other contributions, been expanded to train students from all parts of the Pacific. In East Africa there is the *Mulago Medical School* at Kampala (which is now incorporated in the Makerere Higher College), and the *Kitchener Memorial Medical School* in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. In West Africa there is a Medical School at Yaba, near Lagos, in Nigeria. It is intended that these African schools should be raised as quickly as possible to a level where their graduates are recognised by the *British Medical Council*, and are qualified to practise anywhere within the British Empire. This was already the case at the *King Edward VII College of Medicine* in Singapore before the Japanese occupation of Malaya.

(b) Medical Aids

The expansion of health services cannot possibly wait until the Colonies have provided fully qualified medical officers, or even doctors

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with local qualifications, in anything resembling adequate numbers. There are, however, prospects of a more rapid advance in the training of a kind of assistant-doctor known as a "medical aid." Training of this description is now given in most of the Colonies, and is proving successful. Its scope varies from place to place, but in general they have a basic training either as nurses or dispensers, are taught to diagnose and treat those diseases common to the locality where they are working, give injections and take specimens for laboratory examinations. They are also given an elementary knowledge of pharmacy, the extraction of teeth, and first aid.

(c) Nurses

In most Colonies both men and women are trained as nurses, generally by being attached to hospitals. There are also many schools for the training of midwives.

In November, 1943, the Secretary of State appointed a committee to study the question of the training, both in this country and overseas, of nurses to serve in the Colonies.

(d) Sanitary Inspectors and Pharmacists

Training schools for sanitary inspectors are to be found in many parts of Africa, and others are in the process of being established in the West Indies. There are also schools for pharmacists in Uganda, Nigeria and the Gold Coast.

THE PROMOTION OF GOOD HEALTH

In Britain of recent years the provision by local authorities of good sanitary arrangements, water supplies, maternity and child welfare clinics, enlightened health publicity, and specific action against virulent diseases, have led to an enormous reduction in the death-rate and a great rise in the general level of health. The beginnings of development along these lines are now taking place in the Colonies. Progress, however, varies considerably from Colony to Colony, depending upon local conditions, finances available, the standard of education of the community and the stage of development reached.

The contribution which the missionaries have made to the improvement of health in the Colonies should never be forgotten. In many cases it was they who were first in the field, and by their courage, skill and endurance they have set a high standard for all medical workers throughout the Colonial Empire. Co-operation between the medical missions and the Government departments is normally excellent, and Government medical officers inspect and give every possible assistance to mission hospitals within their district.

Throughout the Colonial Empire medical treatment is available to the public on much the same terms as in this country—that is to say that no man, woman or child in need of treatment would ever be barred from it on the grounds of lack of money to pay for it.

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The following is a very brief survey of the existing health services in some of the main Colonial areas :

Africa

In the towns, as in all other tropical towns where there are large numbers of disease-carrying parasites, the most immediate and pressing problem is the need for pure water supplies and good sanitation.

In the rural areas, again as always, the problem arises of scattered populations, immense distances and poor communications. Sanitary measures have to be of the simple kind that every village can provide for itself, and for them to be effective they must be easily understood by every inhabitant—hence the importance of public health propaganda. Then there is the question of how to extend the range of medical treatment into the out-lying and sparsely populated districts far from the vicinity of towns or hospitals. The answer to this has been found in the rural dispensary run by a "medical aid". The extent and effectiveness of these dispensaries obviously vary from district to district, depending on the number of trained Africans available and the state of communications in the locality concerned. This system has been particularly well developed in Uganda owing to its excellent roads and its long tradition of nursing and medical training, dating back to early missionary days.

Public health propaganda is largely promoted in the *Jeanes Community Training Schools* (see note on Education), and by the medical aids in charge of dispensaries. In Nigeria there has been such a demand for health demonstrations that in 1939 a special health propaganda unit was created which makes films, arranges demonstrations and encourages the establishment of local "health units".

Attendance at maternity hospitals and child welfare clinics is steadily increasing—although the extension of clinics into the rural areas necessarily depends on the numbers of African girls available to staff them. The danger of frightening women away by an unsympathetic or intolerant attitude towards ideas which, to the European, may seem absurdly superstitious, is one which must be constantly guarded against. In Nyasaland, in order to overcome the suspicions of the tribal midwives they are allowed to be present at confinements in the Government African Hospital. It is hoped that this may have the additional advantages of giving them some idea of European methods.

Malaya

Malaya was one of the first Colonial areas to organise health units to meet the needs of rural populations. In 1926 the Government divided rural areas into district health units, each with an Asiatic health officer in charge. Before the Japanese invasion midwives were attached to all Government hospitals in the towns, and to many of the district hospitals—also to clinics and welfare centres. The centres provided both ante-natal and infant care. Gradually the initial fears of the mothers were overcome and the work became most popular. Each infant welfare centre had a motor-bus with a

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fixed itinerary of visits to the outlying districts. District visiting, vaccinations, baby shows, etc., all formed part of the routine work of the centres, as a result of which infant mortality had been enormously reduced of recent years.

The larger towns in Malaya had a piped supply of water with a high standard of purity. During the past 10 years or so the question of supplying drinking water to the villages had been taken in hand, and although many were still dependent upon wells of doubtful purity or springs along the foothills, a large number of deep wells had been provided and quite a few villages could boast a supply of piped or chlorinated river water. It was often, however, found difficult to impress upon villagers the virtue of pure water, and to restrain them from polluting the wells.

Employers on the estates were compelled by law to supply medical attendance, beds in hospital and sanitary labourers' quarters. The larger estates had a purified pipe-line water supply which, together with water-flushed latrines, had done much virtually to eradicate hookworm and dysentery on the estates.

Western Pacific Islands

In Fiji and the Pacific Island Colonies, one of the major problems, as regards all welfare work, is the widely scattered nature of the Islands. This makes it practically impossible to have a resident medical officer on each. This problem, however, has been met to some extent by the training of native medical practitioners, dispensers and nurses—a measure which has had the additional advantage of helping to reduce local native prejudice against European medicine. These men from the islands are trained in Fiji, at the *Central Medical School* at Suva, and when their training is complete they return, where possible, to practise in their own native villages.

The Fijian people suffered severely from their first contacts with the western world. The early European traders (in the 1790's) brought with them such strange, and up till then unknown, diseases as tuberculosis, measles, typhoid fever and influenza, to which, having no natural resistance, they succumbed with alarming speed. As a result of this the decline in the Fijian population during the 19th century, became a very serious problem indeed. Owing, however, to the improved medical services, this decline has fortunately been checked.

Ante-natal and infant welfare clinics have been started in Fiji and Tonga, and the beginnings of such work had been started in the Solomons.

In the Gilbert and Ellice Islands there are simple hospitals with native medical dressers in charge on almost every island.

West Indies

Until recently health services in the West Indies were, on the whole, very backward. Midwifery services were primitive and lacked

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qualified supervision, and infant welfare was largely in the hands of voluntary organisations. Sanitation was for the most part poor, particularly in the smaller islands where, although regulations did exist, the sanitary inspectors, owing to their lack of training, were unequal to the task of enforcing them.

Since the passing of the *Colonial Development and Welfare Act* in 1940, however, and the appointment of Sir Frank Stockdale as Comptroller of Development and Welfare, the health problems of the West Indies are being tackled in a big way and schemes are being put into motion involving an expenditure of over £2,500,000. An important feature of Sir Frank Stockdale's report (Colonial 184, 1943) is that each of the main Colonies is to have a demonstration health centre which will serve as a model for the other districts of the Colony. These centres, each with a fully qualified medical officer in charge, will include clinics for maternity care, child welfare and the treatment of schoolchildren, as well as special departments for specific diseases which may be prevalent in that particular Colony. The staff of these centres will include Sanitary Inspectors, Health Visitors, Nurses and Midwives.

One of the most outstanding needs, and one common to nearly all the Colonies, is the provision of adequate water supplies. Grants of over £80,000 have already been allocated for this purpose alone and much is already being done.

The Colonial Office has recently announced Trinidad's health plans for 1944. It is an ambitious programme involving an expenditure of £500,000 from the Island's own revenues alone. Now specialists for the hospitals, higher salaries for nurses, more health centres and dispensaries, and a start on the £300,000 tuberculosis sanatorium are among the many proposals, as well as the intensification of all health campaigns.

Thus it is that throughout the Colonial Empire there are tireless and determined forces at work to combat disease and suffering wherever it may be. Lord Cranborne, in December, 1942, as he was relinquishing his position as Secretary of State for the Colonies, justly referred in the House of Lords to those men and women of the Colonial Medical Service who do so much but of whom we hear so little, he said : " . . . I would pay a tribute to the splendid, devoted and unceasing work which is being done by the Colonial Medical Service, who in remote, unhealthy, fever-ridden districts, are giving their lives for the welfare of the native populations. We hear little of these men and women—they do not blow their own trumpets, but they are among our greatest heroes and heroines."

May, 1944.

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II—CONTROL OF TROPICAL DISEASES

In the tropics ignorance of hygiene, poverty, malnutrition, bad housing, and last but not least, the infinite wealth of insect life, combine to create conditions in which disease may flourish to an alarming extent.

Some of these so-called " tropical " diseases were once quite common in Europe, but here, as a result of improved standards of living and sanitation, even without the advantage of modern knowledge, most of these pestilential diseases died out many years ago. This same improvement is taking place in the tropics to-day, but with the difference that modern science has now stepped in and is taking control.

The war against tropical diseases can only be said to have started in earnest about 50 years ago, since which time British scientists and doctors have been well to the fore among those who have contributed so much to this particular field of modern medicine. The names of Sir Ronald Ross and Sir Malcolm Watson will always be linked together wherever the story of malaria is being told, just as those of Sir David Bruce and C. F. M. Swynnerton will both for ever be associated with sleeping sickness—but of all the famous names Sir Patrick Manson's was perhaps the most outstanding in those early days. He it was who in 1899 founded the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine which has ever since been such an important centre of research. He it was also who, in the 1880's, made the first profound discovery as regards insects and the fatal part they play in the transmission of disease from one human being to another. Not only this, but also the revealing fact that it is essential to the microbe to live part of its life, before reaching maturity, in the body of an insect—the actual insect varying according to the microbe concerned.

Manson first discovered this co-operation between microbe and insect when he was working in China in connection with the disease known as elephantiasis. From this there opened up a whole new field for experiment and research. The life-history of many different microbes was revealed during those succeeding years, and where Sir Patrick Manson had led the way, many others, now famous, followed on.

The story of research on tropical diseases is one of tireless effort, and great sacrifice. Countless pioneers, who remain unknown, have deliberately contracted certain diseases in order to be experimented on, and others have taken untold risks in order to prove or disprove one theory or another. Some of these men have indeed died that others might live.

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MALARIA

Malaria is perhaps the most universal and widespread of all the tropical diseases, largely because victims, having once suffered from it, continue to harbour the malarial germ in their bodies and are constantly liable to recurrences of the fever. It would be no exaggeration to say that the great majority of people who live in the tropics suffer from malaria, and its effects on the general health of any community are far-reaching and harmful. Although modern science has greatly reduced the danger of death, the general ill-health brought about by malarial fever enormously lowers the resistance of the body to all other diseases.

It was Sir Ronald Ross in 1898 who first identified the villain of the piece as being a certain type of female mosquito (anopheles) which, in the process of biting a human being, at the same time transmits the malarial germ into that person's body. Previous to this it had always been thought that the cause was through drinking bad water or breathing bad air—hence the name " mal-aria." After this discovery it became clear that in order to remove malaria it was essential to remove the mosquito. This was the turning point in the war against malaria.

Malaya was the first British Colony to benefit from this discovery. In 1901 Port Swettenham, founded as a harbour for the Federated Malay States, was in danger of having to be closed, almost as soon as it had opened, owing to the excessively high death-rate from malaria. In the light, however, of new knowledge, an all-out anti-mosquito campaign was immediately put into action and the surrounding swamps, which were known to be the main breeding place of the mosquito, were thoroughly drained. As a result of this the epidemic subsided and Port Swettenham, saved from disaster, came to flourish as an important centre of trade.

This was the first big step forward in the anti-malarial campaign which was largely centred in Malaya and which was led by Sir Malcolm Watson, who carried on where Ross left off. This campaign continued unabated up till the time of the Japanese invasion. Without it the great development of the natural resources of that country during the last 40 years or so could never have taken place.

Since those early days, experiment and research have led to the discovery of many preventive measures which were already being used extensively in Malaya and which are now increasingly being brought into action throughout the Colonial Empire. Such measures include the oiling of streams, ponds and drains, the flushing of hill streams and ravines by automatic sluices, the clearing of drains and the stocking of ponds and reservoirs with larva-eating fish. Of a more permanent nature, the drainage of land is undoubtedly the most effective deterrent of all.

In spite of this, however, the tremendous problem of mosquito control in the more rural areas of the tropics is one which is still far

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from being satisfactorily solved. In some parts of Africa, where a particularly efficient malaria-carrying mosquito is to be found, every puddle or wet hoof-mark in a road, even the water which collects after the rain in the angle between the leaves and the stem of a plant, are potential breeding places for the malaria-carrying mosquito.

Under the new *Colonial Development and Welfare Act*, 1940, considerable grants have been made expressly for anti-malarial work. Up to November, 1943, for example, £72,635 had been allocated to the West Indies to anti-malarial work alone.

Quinine, which comes from the bark of the cinchona tree, was known as the staple remedy in malaria long before the cause of the disease was discovered. At present, however, as a very great part of the world's supply of cinchona comes from Java, serious difficulties have arisen through the loss of this supply owing to the Japanese invasion. The establishment of a Cinchona Research Institute in East Africa has been recommended to investigate the possibilities of producing the cinchona plant locally. In the meanwhile an effective substitute has now been found called *mepacrine*, a synthetic preparation which has proved invaluable both as a preventive and a cure and which is being widely used by the Allied troops in tropical areas.

SLEEPING SICKNESS

Malaria and sleeping sickness have in common the fact that they are both caused by a germ which can only be introduced into the body by a blood-sucking insect—but with the difference that, whereas malaria is transmitted by the mosquito, sleeping sickness is caused by the tsetse-fly.

Although malaria is considered to cause more general ill-health than any other known disease, sleeping sickness is by far the more deadly of the two. In the days before modern science came to take a hand, a slow and lingering death, perhaps many years after the onset of the disease, was the inevitable end. It is, however, more localised than malaria and is only widespread in certain regions of Africa where it was first known as " negro lethargy " owing to the extreme lassitude which is one of the most outstanding symptoms of the disease.

It was not until 1903 that a young doctor in the R.A.M.C., David Bruce, who had been investigating a similar disease called " nagana " (or tsetse-fly disease) in cattle, discovered that sleeping sickness in man and nagana in animals were caused by different members of the same group of organisms called trypanosomos. Furthermore, he discovered that these germs are introduced into the bloodstream by the bite of an infected tsetse-fly.

Then it was that at a time when the battle against the mosquito was already in full swing, it became evident that yet another battle, this time against the tsetse-fly, would have to be fought with no less intensity. So while Sir Malcolm Watson waged total war on the mosquito in Malaya, C. F. M. Swynnerton, the first Director of Tsetse Research

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in Tanganyika Territory, launched another battle, this time on the tsetse-fly in Africa.

It was discovered that the majority of flies were to be found in dry woodland of fairly loose density, and that they would not live permanently in either extreme of dense thicket or open land. For many years Swynnerton displayed tireless energy attempting by every sort of method to exterminate this fly. His experiments included bush clearing, trapping the flies, burning blocks of grass, and either destroying or intensifying the vegetation. Of these, and many others, the two latter proved to be the most expedient—either destroying the vegetation by fire, or alternatively allowing it to become so dense as to defeat even the toughest of flies.

Swynnerton continued this work until his death in 1938 when he was killed in a flying accident. As a result of his efforts over the past 20 years the tsetse-fly had been driven out of some 15,000 square miles of country. In some regions, however, particularly in Nigeria, the fly still reigns supreme and man is in retreat. With some truth though we can claim that it is more in the nature of a strategic withdrawal to previously prepared positions, as many people have been moved from fly-infested country and re-settled in districts which have been rendered comparatively free.

Modern science has done much to reduce the danger of what, in the past, was almost certain death. In the early days such drastic measures as whipping or plunging patients into cold water, " anything to rouse them from their lethargy "—(according to a book written by a naval surgeon in the early 18th century)—were recommended. To-day there are several different types of drug which, providing the illness is caught in time, may effect a total cure.

YELLOW FEVER

Yellow fever, like malaria, is caused by the bite of a certain type of infected mosquito (ædes ægypti).

This disease is most prevalent in large parts of Africa and in South America. For centuries it was also very common in the West Indies, but for the last 30 years or so, owing to unremitting effort, these islands have been completely free of any outbreak.

It was an American Commission in 1900, headed by a Major Reed, which eventually proved beyond all doubt that the mosquito was once again to blame. This commission was composed of brave men, one of whom was bitten by one of the mosquitoes with which he was experimenting and subsequently died. Others, in order to prove their theory that the mosquito alone could transmit the disease, and to disprove the popular belief that yellow fever was due to contact with infected clothing or bedlinen, volunteered to sleep for a number of nights in the beds and bedding of people who had recently died of it. None of them contracted the disease.

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There are two ways by which yellow fever may spread to territories which in the ordinary way are free from the disease. One is when a traveller who has unknowingly been bitten by an infected mosquito continues his travels during the incubation period before the disease becomes apparent; and the second, when the mosquito itself becomes the traveller, having got into an aeroplane, train or ship, and thus being transported to new territory. For these reasons most rigorous mosquito control is in operation at nearly all airfields and seaports.

The International Sanitary Convention for Aerial Navigation of 1933, which was ratified by all Governments in Africa, gives any country of arrival power of inspection and disinsectisation of aircraft, as well as the examination of all passengers.

Much work has been done recently towards the immunising of people who are either resident in or visiting any area where yellow fever is prevalent, by means of inoculation. Steps are also being taken, in the same way, to minimise the risk of the disease taking a hold if it should happen to be introduced into new territories. In Kenya, for example, which has so far always been free from the disease, an intensive campaign was started in April, 1941, with the aim of ultimately immunising the entire population.

Since the outbreak of war, the success of inoculation has been proved by the fact that not a single case of yellow fever has been reported among Allied military personnel in East Africa, all of whom are inoculated before going out.

HOOKWORM DISEASE

Ankylostomiasis, commonly known as hookworm disease, is very prevalent in most tropical countries. A survey carried out in Malaya in 1926 showed that no less than 80% of the population were infected, although only 30% of these were, in fact, harbouring sufficient germs to show definite signs of illness. The number of deaths from hookworm is small, and it is comparatively easily cured. The patient suffers from anæmia due to loss of blood and consequent debility and lack of vitality: his lowered resistance, as in malaria, leaving him very prone to succumb to other diseases.

Infection is introduced into the body when the larva of the hookworm comes in contact with the human skin. The larvæ then bore their way through, eventually reaching the intestines, where the adult worms take up residence and feed on the blood from the intestinal wall. Infection in this way is almost inevitable in countries where the great majority of inhabitants go bare-foot and where almost any spot of land is regarded as a suitable latrine. The only way of ensuring permanent freedom from the disease is to introduce a system of soil sanitation on a large scale and to prevent contamination of the soil with the eggs which are passed in the fæces. Intense propaganda is needed to urge upon the rural population the necessity of providing, and above all of using, properly constructed latrines. Native preju-

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dices, however, die very hard, and many stories could be told of the manner in which newly-built latrines have been cherished as "show-pieces" rather than regarded as articles for daily use.

YAWS

Yaws is a disfiguring affliction which has much the same appearance as syphilis although is is not, in fact, a venereal disease. It is highly contagious and is prevalent in many parts of the Colonial Empire. It can be fairly easily cured by means of injections.

VENEREAL DISEASES

Venereal diseases, although scarcely peculiar to the tropics, are worthy of mention under this heading as they create a serious problem in most parts of the Colonial Empire, particularly in the more congested areas. And in other countries campaigns are being launched to teach the public the causes, nature and effects of venereal disease and urging people to take the full course of free treatment which is available in most of the larger towns.

A particularly extensive Anglo-American campaign, under the supervision of one English and one American specialist, has been launched in Trinidad.

LEPROSY

Although leprosy exists in all tropical Colonies, it is particularly prevalent in the northern part of Central Africa. It is known that there are over half a million cases, probably more, in Africa alone.

In most Colonies there are leper settlements where infected persons can be segregated and at the same time lead as normal a life as possible. Some territories make segregation compulsory, but the majority prefer it to be voluntary on the grounds that the disease is often concealed where people are afraid of being forced to leave their homes.

One of the largest and most modern leper colonies in the world, containing 4,000 patients, is to be found in the State of Selangor in Malaya. The medical officer in charge (Dr. Gordon Ryrie) refused to be evacuated at the time of the Japanese invasion and it is now understood that he has been requested by the Japanese to carry on his invaluable work.

In Africa there are many settlements. In Nigeria, in the province of Owerri where the percentage is particularly high, there are extensive schemes for the relief and treatment of lepers, including the building of model villages for infected persons. There were 10 such villages in this province in 1942.

In the West Indies there is a leper colony on nearly every island and owing to the strict segregation which has been enforced the disease has very considerably decreased in recent years. In Fiji, also, on the island of Makongai, there is a colony the hospital of which has achieved world fame for its successful treatment of leprosy.

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Although cures can be, and are, effected, providing the disease is taken in time, no completely certain remedy has yet been found. Good care, good feeding and hygienic conditions, as in most other diseases, are of the utmost importance. A drug called *chaulmoogra* is the only cure, although many others have been tried, which has withstood the test of time. But even chaulmoogra has its limitations and at the best will only cure after a prolonged course which must be continued long after the disease appears to have vanished.

NUTRITION

Many of the afore-mentioned diseases, if not actually caused by malnutrition, are certainly the more widespread on this account, as under-nourishment not only causes an immense amount of physical and mental inability but it also reduces people to such a state of lowered resistance that they fall easy victims to any disease or infection which may come their way.

In 1936, with this fact in view, the Secretary of State appointed a committee of experts to study the whole question of nutrition throughout the Colonial Empire. The various Colonial Governments, in co-operation with their educational, agricultural, veterinary and medical departments, were called up to submit reports on the standard of nutrition in their particular Colonies. The findings of this committee were published in 1939.

Many factors contribute to the causes of malnutrition in the Colonies —poverty and ignorance being not least among them. As well as this, however, there is the fact that local foodstuffs with their lack of variety, as well as their probable lack of quantity, seldom if ever supply a well-balanced diet. Added to which prejudice, superstition, or sometimes mere indifference, often prevent the use of what foodstuffs actually are available. In many tribes in Africa, for instance, there are taboos which debar women from eating certain valuable foodstuffs.

The exigencies of war, not only in the Colonies but everywhere, have stimulated the need for territories to be more self-sufficient than they ever were before. At the same time, however, the nutritional committee has not failed to recognise the need for promoting greater facilities for internal trade within the Colonial territories themselves, in order not only to supplement local foodstuffs in areas where there is a shortage, but also to introduce a greater variety. The significance of a varied diet is not merely that it makes a meal more enjoyable, but that it is important to include as many as possible of the essential vitamins, mineral salts, etc., in the daily diet.

The provision of meals for schoolchildren, and the importance of educating women—(on the principle that if you " educate a woman you educate a family ")—in all health questions, including the principle of nutrition, have been very much stressed.

In 1943 all the African Colonies, most of the West Indies, and Fiji, had either nutrition committees or general development committees

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which undertake nutritional problems. Malaya and Hong-Kong had nutrition committees for several years before the Japanese invasion, and the Medical Department in Ceylon has included a Nutrition Section for the past 10 years.

CONCLUSION

There is little doubt that the passing of the *Colonial Development and Welfare Act* in 1940 was one of the greatest turning points in British Colonial administration, and of all the branches of social welfare to benefit by this Act perhaps none will profit more—either directly by grants of money for specific medical purposes, or indirectly by increased water supplies, improved housing conditions, etc.—than the health services of the Colonial Empire. As the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Colonel Stanley, told the House of Commons in July, 1943 ! " I wonder whether we quite realise what a tremendous change was brought over the whole Colonial scene by the passage of that Act—and I must say what an act of faith the passage of that Act was, in the summer of 1940, just after Dunkirk, and at the time of the greatest peril for this country and this Empire."

May, 1944.

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SOCIAL SERVICES IN THE COLONIES

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PART V—WELFARE

WHAT WE MEAN BY "SOCIAL WELFARE"

Social welfare might well be said to include the whole range of those social policies and services which are described in America as "nation-building". It has here, however, a more technical meaning which covers, in the words of the West India Commission, "those aspects of social welfare which are not the special interest or concern of other Departments." These include community activities such as village councils, co-operative societies and community associations; welfare work in connection with housing estates and land settlements; the relief of the destitute, old or young; youth movements; recreational activities; the treatment of adult and juvenile delinquents, the after care of adult prisoners and the general care of prisoners while still in prison.

Sir Frank Stockdale's report on *Development and Welfare in the West Indies*, 1943, points out that until recently most social welfare work has been carried out on a voluntary basis and that there has been a mistaken tendency to regard social welfare as a form of charity in which various organisations "do things for people." "Relief" services are, of course, important; but effective social welfare should not merely involve services such as these, and no more. The whole conception of social welfare should be based on a more enlightened principle of guiding people, however backward, towards greater self-help, self-respect and self-determination. Its aim should be to enable people to secure, through their own exertions, a fuller and happier way of living and the incentive to "do things for themselves."

WHAT IS BEING DONE

A big step towards the fulfilment of such aims was taken early in 1943 when the Colonial Office created an Advisory Committee on social welfare. This Committee is composed of experts on the different kinds of social welfare which now exist in Great Britain. It is their job to advise the Secretary of State for the Colonies (Colonel Stanley) on all social welfare schemes, including the training of both European and Colonial welfare officers. They base their recommenda-

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tions on information made available by the various Colonial Governments or, in the case of the West Indies, by the Stockdale Commission, which has been in operation since 1940 and which is paving the way for a large-scale improvement in all economic and social conditions in those regions. The West Indies, as will be shown later, from having been in a rather particularly bad way, largely due to the depression of the 1930's are now fast taking the lead as regards establishing a really progressive and far-sighted programme of social welfare.

The Advisory Committee on social welfare was the outcome of an earlier one, the *Colonial Penal Administration Committee*, which was set up in 1937 to advise on all matters relating to Colonial prisons and the welfare of prisoners; but the British idea of penal administration is not confined only to those who are behind prison bars, and as the scope of this latter Committee grew it became increasingly apparent that there was a need for something altogether more comprehensive.

A number of recommendations made by the Penal Administrative Committee, which has now become a sub-committee to the newer body, have led to some of the methods generally approved in this country being extended to the Colonies.

Social welfare officers have already been appointed in a number of Colonies, particularly in the West Indies, but there is so far no separate social welfare service at all comparable with the existing Education and Health Services.

In addition to those welfare officers who supervise social welfare generally, some appointments have also been made for such specialised work as that of prison or probation officers, and in Uganda experiments are being made with the appointments of Africans as prison officers who have been educated at Makerere College, which is the principal centre for higher education in East Africa. The function of these social welfare officers is to get going services which can be recruited from within the Colonies themselves, and which should encourage the more progressive members of the younger generation to take an active share of responsibility for the development of their own peoples.

Two schemes of training those who are thus recruited are already in existence. In Jamaica the first six-months' course open to candidates for social welfare posts from all over the West Indies was held in the Summer of 1943. For other Colonies the first two-year course started at the *London School of Economics* in October, 1943. Students taking this course are divided into three groups, specialising in youth services, industrial welfare and rural welfare. Their training consists largely in visits to institutions engaged in the kind of work which they expect to be doing, and during their vacations they spend some time at these institutions actually helping in the work. Those of the first group (youth services), for instance, visit clubs, juvenile courts and approved schools, and follow the work of probation officers. Those of the second (industrial welfare), are attached to the personnel management departments of large factories. And lastly, those of the third (rural welfare), see Young Farmers' Clubs at work.

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Thus it is that there is now emerging a small, and we hope ever-increasing staff of qualified welfare workers who may come to form a Colonial Social Welfare Service just as there are already Colonial Educational and Medical Services. Up till recently, social welfare has admittedly lacked co-ordination and official guidance, and has depended largely on voluntary bodies and the goodwill of the "man on the spot", but there have been and still are a number of organisations and societies which have played an active and important part in building up a sense of community and good-fellowship among the peoples of the Colonial Empire.

YOUTH SERVICES

The importance of youth services is rapidly coming to be recognised, and a number of youth organisations have branches in the British Colonies. Boy Scouts and Girl Guides, for instance, have been widespread and popular for a number of years. In Nigeria the number of Boy Scouts was almost doubled between 1939 and 1943.

The junior branch of the Red Cross, known as Red Cross Links, carries out valuable work, and has been particularly active lately in the Gold Coast. The Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A. also do excellent work, and in addition to these there are many other youth organisations attached to churches of different denominations.

The children of the Colonies are thus being imbued with the idea of service to a common cause. They are acquiring a wider sense of loyalty, the ability not only to do things for themselves but for other people too. Just as English children to-day are getting together and devising ways and means of helping the war effort in this country, so are groups of children in the Colonies doing their share. A vivid illustration of this is to be found in a letter written by some young Africans to the High Commissioner of Nigeria, in which they were enclosing a contribution of money. It said: "We are not satisfied with mere contribution of money to war funds. We help the war effort in other ways. It may be of interest to Your Honour that we have given up those hundreds of yards of khaki cloth we used to import annually since over 25 years ago. This year our mothers have woven for us a striped native cloth instead, called 'Beat Hitler Uniform' .... Our fathers are engaged in producing rubber in great quantity. We help them to carry rubber latex in tins and calabashes from homes and farms to the rubber presses... Some of us actually help our fathers in tapping. We are discharging our equal responsibilities to our mothers in increasing the output of palm kernels they produce." Such children are learning early the meaning of service for the good of the community.

WOMEN'S VOLUNTARY SOCIETIES

In Fiji an annual conference of the Fijian Women's Guilds is held at Suva at which women from every part of Fiji foregather and discuss plans for the coming year regarding such things as homecraft, mother-craft, needlework, etc.

House pride is by no means peculiar to the European woman, and it is not strange that the women of Fiji or Africa or wherever it may

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be are coming to find a new sense of companionship and enjoyment in getting together and exchanging views on how to " mend and make do " or the latest ways of bathing their babies or decorating their homes.

In Nyasaland, Women's Institutes run on the same lines as those to be found in English villages are becoming very popular. Their success in this particular region, being largely due to the enthusiasm of Chief Mwase of Kasungu, who was so impressed on his visit to England by these Institutes that, with the assistance of his wife, he is doing everything possible to promote the establishment of such organisations throughout Nyasaland.

BRITISH COUNCIL INSTITUTES

In 1943 the British Council appointed a chief representative in Accra (Gold Coast), and it is intended that the Council should have a further representative in each of the four West African territories. The intention is to establish Institutes where there will be reading rooms, libraries, wireless and cinema facilities, and to create centres which will provide cultural and recreational activities such as debating, dramatic societies, child welfare, adult education, etc. Such Institutes as these are the answer to the theory that social welfare is not a question only of caring for the sick and needy, vitally important though this is—but that the mind should be nourished as well as the body. The British Council has already done much towards the promotion of British culture in other countries and this new venture is a bold step towards creating a closer understanding between the peoples of Great Britain and those of British West Africa.

Added to this the British Council also hope shortly to set up, in association with Achimota College (the West African Co-educational College), a training school in librarianship for African students. This should be particularly helpful towards establishing a more comprehensive library scheme for which, with the greater spread of education, there is such an urgent need ; for there is little advantage in learning to read and write at school if there is no opportunity afterwards of participating even to a small extent in the literary inheritance of the world.

GREEN TRIANGLE CLUB

The Green Triangle Club in Lagos, Nigeria, is an encouraging example of co-operation between Great Britain and the Colonies. It was set up by a number of young Nigerians to provide homes for destitute children, and it is run on similar lines to the Dr. Barnado's Homes in this country. Thus the familiar " Barnado Boys " of Great Britain have a bond in common with many little Nigerians in Africa who have been no more fortunate than they. The Committee of the Dr. Barnado's Homes has unstintingly put its experience at the disposal of the Club, and Bristol University has awarded a scholarship to one of the Club's leaders (Prince Ad Akitoye) entitling him to a course in youth leadership and social work.

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There is also a Boys' Hostel in Lagos for destitute boys which is being run in association with the Green Triangle Club. A Girls' Hostel on the same lines is to be started as well.

WEST INDIES

Since the appointment of Sir Frank Stockdale in 1940 as *Comptroller for Development and Welfare*, the West Indies have acquired great prominence in the field of social welfare. The first experiment in the regional planning of welfare and other development schemes is being made in these Islands, and it is an experiment which is surely being watched with keen interest and anticipation by all those concerned with the social welfare of other Colonies within the British Empire. It is the duty of a group of medical, agricultural, educational and social welfare experts, with Sir Frank Stockdale at their head, to work out long-term programmes of social reform and to recommend to the Secretary of State for the Colonies (Colonel Stanley) the allocation of grants made available by the *Colonial Development and Welfare Act*.

The special adviser on social welfare has laid down three objectives for a social welfare programme in the West Indies : (1) to co-ordinate existing public and voluntary welfare activities ; (2) to encourage desirable changes in social institutions and habits ; and (3) to provide for the most effective administration of the services which do not fall within the sphere of any of the more important Government Departments.

DESTITUTION

A typical example of an essential service which had not hitherto fallen under the care of any particular department is the relief of destitution. This presents a particularly serious problem in the West Indies, especially in the larger towns where there is a landless class and a greater instability of family life than is to be found in most of the other Colonies, with the result that there is an unusually large number of old and young people who have no one to care for them.

Up till recently it has been the general practice in the West Indies for deserted children to be cared for in orphanages. The more modern view, however, is that wherever possible a child should be brought up in a satisfactory home rather than in an institution. Schemes for the general reorganisation of orphanages in Jamaica and for the construction of a new children's home of the farm-school type have been approved by the Secretary of State.

Old age pensions have been introduced in Trinidad and Barbados ; and in the Leeward Islands, St. Lucia and British Guiana (on the mainland of South America) funds have been provided for the building of cottage almshouses.

The possibility of introducing a system of Social Security is being investigated in British Honduras. An unemployment insurance scheme is under consideration in Trinidad, and an employment

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exchange has been opened at Port of Spain. In Bermuda workmen's compensation, health insurance and old age pensions are all under consideration.

ADULT AND JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

The West Indian prison system was surveyed by Mr. Alexander Patterson in 1937 when the *Colonial Penal Administration Committee* was first established, and proposals have now been made for the use of more modern methods in the treatment of delinquency. Up till recently a sentence of imprisonment has always been the most usual treatment rather than a fine or a period of probation, even for first offenders or for minor offences. As a result the prisons are overcrowded; and persons serving short sentences, and juvenile prisoners, habitual criminals, first offenders and prisoners awaiting trial, were all confined together.

The bulk of probation work in the West Indies has been done in the past by part-time volunteers, provided mostly by missions or by the Salvation Army, who have had no special training. In Jamaica and Trinidad, however, trained full-time probation officers have now been appointed, and in the case of Jamaica special grants under the *Colonial Development and Welfare Act*, 1940, have been made for the purpose.

Grants totalling £55,000 have also been made towards the establishment in Jamaica of a farm prison which will be run on modern lines, and another such prison has been recommended for St. Kitts in the Leeward Islands.

For juvenile offenders plans have been made for the reorganisation of existing schools in Barbados, Antigua, British Guiana, Jamaica and Trinidad, more on the lines of those to be found in this country. A new draft Children's Law, following the lines of the U.K. children and Young Persons Act, 1933, has been prepared for Jamaica, and juvenile courts have been established in some of the Colonies.

Mr. Alexander Patterson is now carrying out a similar survey of the prison system in West Africa.

JAMAICA WELFARE LTD.

One of the most outstandingly successful organisations in the West Indies is known as Jamaica Welfare Ltd. It was founded in 1937 as a result of discussions between Mr. N. W. Manley, K.C., a Jamaican Rhodes Scholar, and Mr. Sam Zemurray of the United Fruit Co., and it was originally financed by a small levy on all bananas exported from Jamaica by the United Fruit Co. and the Standard Fruit and Steamship Co. The Company which was thus formed created a *Central Council for Voluntary Social Services*, and was comprised of representatives of all voluntary organisations in the island and of such Government departments as might be interested in their activities.

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Since 1940 the main activity of Jamaica Welfare has been a " Better Village " campaign concentrating on the encouragement of local co-operative activities and of community centres. For young adults a chain of *Pioneer Clubs* have been inaugurated and for children one of the most successful features has been the " 4-*H Clubs*," which were first established in the rural areas of the United States. The name of this latter organisation comes from the four-fold pledge taken by the members : " I pledge my head to clearer thinking, my heart to greater loyalty, my hands to larger service and my health to better living, for my club, my community and my country." The aim of the clubs is to interest boys and girls in improved standards of farming and home-making, to develop a scientific attitude towards these practical problems, and to create a sense of citizenship. These clubs have been a tremendous success in Jamaica, and in May, 1943, there were 172 of them in this island alone. Similar clubs have now started on other islands, and special training centres have been opened for club leaders.

A grant of £15,000 a year for five years has been made under the *Colonial Development and Welfare Act* for the extension of Jamaica Welfare's " Better Village " campaign.

Trinidad Welfare Ltd. and *Barbados Welfare Ltd.* were inaugurated in 1943 and are run on the same lines as their Jamaican counterpart. In the case of Trinidad contributions from Trinidad Leaseholds, who represent the oil producers and other local firms, are being made in the same way as those contributed to Jamaica by the fruit companies. Barbados, which is a less wealthy island, has received a grant of £30,000.

The Stockdale Commission is doing much to encourage and assist the extension of such schemes to other West Indian Islands.

JAMAICA

The urban counterpart of the " 4-H Clubs " (and one for which Jamaica Welfare is not responsible), is the *Kingston Youth Organisation*, formed by the co-operation of the Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A. and other bodies interested in boys' and girls' clubs. With the assistance of a grant from the *Colonial Development and Welfare Fund* a Youth Centre was opened in Kingston in October, 1943.

Play centres have also recently been opened for children under school age.

BRITISH GUIANA

Local government has been more fully developed in British Guiana than it has in the Island Colonies, and as these local bodies are entrusted with many social welfare schemes within their own particular areas, welfare matters have received widespread attention. An advisory committee on social welfare has been created in this Colony consisting

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of 11 people representing all shades of public opinion. Another interesting development here has been the appointment of a special welfare officer for work among the aboriginal Indians.

CONCLUSION

There is no doubt that the West Indies have taken the lead as regards all aspects of social welfare in the Colonies, and they provide a fine example of the extent to which the British Government is " getting down to it," even in the midst of a World War.

By thus putting our own house in order, in this and other ways, as General Smuts put it when he was addressing the Empire Parliamentary Association on 25th November, 1943 : " . . . we shall not only be serving our own cause and strengthening ourselves internally but we shall be making our contribution to human destiny, and to the promotion of those ideals for which our young men are fighting and bleeding and dying to-day. I think we shall be serving that greater human cause which we all have at heart, and for which we are prepared to make such sacrifices in our day."

May, 1944.

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THE STORY OF BURMA

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PART II—THE BURMA CAMPAIGN

DEFENCE AND THE BURMESE MINISTERS

When the war broke out in 1939 it was scarcely two and a half years since Burma had been given a very large measure of responsible self-government. The full implications of a Parliamentary system, with real power transferred to the people, were not as yet understood by the Burmese. The many parties that had sprung up, all calling themselves Nationalist in some form or other, had little in the way of clearly defined policies; it was natural enough that political parties with definite programmes, as in the United Kingdom, had not yet taken shape. It was natural also that the two Ministries which had held office were anxious to retain power, and therefore sought popularity. The kind of programme which was popular was reduction of taxation affecting the labouring classes, and provision of additional funds for what were called the nation-building services, such as education and public health. Expenditure on defence was not popular. Defence was not in fact a ministerial responsibility, as the Governor retained control of it; working through a Defence Council, however, set up after the war started, on which both Europeans and Burmese were represented, including one Burmese Counsellor and three Burmese Ministers. And though the Governor could incur expenditure on defence which would rank as a priority on the revenue of Burma and leave less available for special services, etc., he had to consult his Finance Minister. Criticisms of public men both within and without the Legislature were a weighty factor in limiting such expenditure. The other factor which called for consideration was what danger, if any, existed of attack from Burma's neighbours—China, Siam and French Indo-China.

Until the Japanese began to establish their influence in Indo-China and Siam in 1940 it must have seemed, not only to the Burmese Ministers but to most of the world, that not one of these neighbours constituted a threat to Burma. Previous experience made Burma's geographical position seem very sheltered; the Great War of 1914 had scarcely ruffled her; and the danger of external aggression had always appeared remote. There were as yet very few Burmans (a term including all indigenous peoples of Burma) in the fighting services, and particularly few Burmese. The Burmese (three quarters of the population) are Buddhists and therefore—though readily moved to violence in

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hot temper—are theoretically opposed on religious grounds to taking life. In addition to this, the discipline and organisation of a modern army do not appeal to their temperament. Moreover, when Burma was a province of India, before 1937, it had been strongly argued that her contribution to defence was too high, since the main part of India's defence, the North-West Frontier, was remote from Burmese interests; so any large increase in expenditure on defence so soon after separation would have been a very sore point. It must be remembered too that the popular objects which did engage the interest of the Burmese Ministers were worthy ones; very real priorities had there been no dark cloud looming from the east. And it was not foreseen in Burma, or indeed generally, that the Japanese would advance so rapidly and disrupt the strategic disposition of Anglo-American naval power based on Pearl Harbour and Singapore nor that friendly Siam and French Indo-China would shortly be enemy puppets.

THE BROAD STRATEGIC SETTING

The course of the Burma campaign cannot be rightly appreciated without first understanding the broad strategic setting.

No part of Burma's frontier appeared more secure than the extreme south, where the mountains divide the Tenasserim Division from the tongue of Siam which runs down to Malaya, and no troops had been stationed there for 40 years. It was here that the blow first fell. Rangoon is only 150 miles from the Siamese frontier, and when Rangoon fell our withdrawal at least from Lower Burma became inevitable. The reoccupation or neutralisation of Rangoon is an essential to reconquest.

Britain had world-wide war commitments; and the forces which could be mustered to defend Burma were numerically inadequate for the task.

The land frontier is 1,000 miles long. To guard it there were at no time during the campaign more than two divisions of peace-time strength. The garrison of Burma stood at two battalions of British infantry, four of the Burma Rifles—hardly any of whom had seen any active service, a company of sappers and miners, and a battery of mountain artillery. Behind them was a frontier force of seven battalions, whose duties were partly to man the frontier outposts and partly to act as armed police in the interior; though of fine quality, these battalions were in no sense of the word regular troops.

There was only a small air force in Burma; and after the loss of the Port of Rangoon this had to be divided between the needs of India and Burma. The best airfields were in the Rangoon area.

The difficulties of reinforcing Burma were very great. The collapse of France and the acceptance by Indo-China of the Vichy Government brought danger nearer to Burma; the collapse of France and the great loss of equipment at Dunkirk faced Britain with the imminent threat

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of invasion and an urgent need for every man, every gun, every plane. Other theatres of war nearer home were clamouring for reinforcements; and India, whose war effort took as much time as Britain's to gain momentum, had to look west as well as east and could give little help.

The Battle of the Atlantic was not yet won, when Japan's infamous attack on Pearl Harbour on 7th December, 1941, inflicted a serious blow on the American Pacific Fleet, followed a few days later by our own loss of the "Prince of Wales" and the "Repulse." Naval superiority in the Pacific and in the Malayan Archipelago passed temporarily from the hands of the two leading Naval Powers into the hands of Japan. For the time being, Japan had command of the sea and local command of the air.

Mr. Churchill said in the House of Commons on 27th January, 1942:

> "While facing Germany and Italy here and in the Nile Valley we have never had the power to provide effectively for the defence of the Far East."

At that time of limited resources, strategic assessment of priorities, always important, was a matter of life or death; our strategy demanded that priority of supplies should be given to the Middle East and to Russia.

The United Nations, hard pressed on a world-wide battle front with world-wide communications to maintain, had desperate problems of transport. For example, to land and maintain American forces in Australia required more than twice the ship tonnage necessary for similar forces in Europe and North Africa. Moreover, after America's entry into the war she required some eight months, acting in collaboration with her Allies, to accumulate the munitions, train the initial forces, and then to transport them to theatres of operations where they could be employed in offensive action against the enemy.

Though recruitment within Burma itself was speeded up, arms and equipment were almost unobtainable. Nor was military equipment the only matter in which the limiting factor of transport hit Burma. For example, except for the centre of Rangoon, Burmese towns are built mainly of wood and bamboo, and since shortage of fire-fighting appliances could not be remedied from other countries, and since the Japanese for the time being had overwhelming air superiority, nearly every town in Burma was burnt to the ground by incendiaries within a few weeks.

THE BURMA CAMPAIGN

The campaign against Burma opened when a Japanese detachment moving by sea from Saigon landed south of Bangkok, seized the railway, and moved down the road to Victoria Point, which fell on 11th December, 1941. The main body moved by road from Indo-China, and because of the difficult country the approach march from Bangkok took until the middle of January.

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In the middle of January, 1942, the Japanese, with command of the air, and able to pour in all the troops they wished, began their advance on Mergui and Tavoy. In view of their superior numbers and the isolated position of our troops, our forces withdrew by sea and road, and our garrisons at Moulmein and at Kawkareik on the Siam frontier were reinforced. Tavoy was occupied on 15th January. On 30th January our troops at Moulmein were attacked from all directions. After heavy fighting, and after suffering heavy casualties, the enemy forced our troops to withdraw, and they took up a new position on the west bank of the Salween river at Martaban, opposite Moulmein.

There was then little hope; the road to Rangoon was open, and even before Rangoon was lost reinforcement had become almost impossible. The narrow approach up the river and the Rangoon harbour was only half an hour's flying time from Moulmein, and the Japanese could afford to disregard the heavy losses which the hopelessly out-numbered Royal Air Force, Indian Air Force and American Volunteer Group inflicted on them. Fresh Japanese reinforcements, comprising a division and including light tanks, were thrown against our left flank on the Salween, and we were forced back to the Bilin river, and again to the Sittang. All this was powerless to sap the spirit of the British and Indian troops.

THE SITTANG BATTLE

In the fighting around the Sittang railway bridge, the Japanese are estimated to have suffered 2,000 casualties out of a total of 5,000 troops engaged. It is hard for us to realise the nature of such fighting. It was early in the hot season but, already the daytime heat pressed heavily upon our men, tired from continual fighting against superior forces, while at night came a sudden change and shivering chill, and heavy drenching dew. When it was found in the early morning hours of 23rd February that the bridgehead on the east side of the Sittang could no longer be held, the bridge had to be blown up although many of our troops— men of the King's Own Yorkshire Light Infantry and the Duke of Wellington's Regiment—were fighting the enemy on the far shore of a river 800 yards wide. Bombed, shelled, machine-gunned from the air, mortared, and obliged to abandon much equipment, hundreds of these cut-off men plunged into the swift current, striving to reach if possible not rest, not safety, but positions from which to fight again as they had been fighting since 16th January. And under the blaze of the Burma sun and the hail of Japanese steel, they cared for their wounded and tried to ferry them across. Doors, rafts, anything on which a man could be laid, were launched and ferried slowly, painfully over by men acting as out-board motors. Where no possible ferry was available, men lowered their wounded comrades gently into the water and endeavoured, like life-savers with the drowning, to swim them to the far bank. Thus the remnants of a very gallant force returned to re-form, re-equip and fight again.

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BATTLE OF PEGU AND EVACUATION OF RANGOON

At the end of February, taking full advantage of the covered lines of approach afforded by extensive jungle, the Japanese by their infiltration tactics for which their equipment and training had been well-designed, were able to cross the Sittang river and reach the main Rangoon-Mandalay road and railway.

Part of our forces were isolated in Pegu, and there seemed grave danger of the whole army being surrounded, or being broken up into such small columns as could fight their way out after abandoning and destroying their transport. It was vital to the safety of India that, whatever happened in Burma, the Japanese should be held until the rains of May immobilised them while the defences of India were built up in strength.

No men in the height of Fortune's favour could have fought with more spirit than the troops of the Pegu trap. When a patrol learned that the Japanese had infiltrated through the Gurkha lines by night and rushed the vital railway station at dawn, they took the news to the Cameronian colonel, and a lieutenant received the instructions: "Take some mortars and Tommy-guns up there and blast them out." For more than two hours units of Cameronians, West Yorks, Gurkhas and others attacked the grimly resisting enemy at the railway station, and like a receding tide the Japanese fell back, and were duly blasted out. The next news was that 4,000 new, fresh Japanese troops were being thrown into the battle, fanning out to encircle our troops. And by attack after attack our force smashed through.

The Japanese entered Pegu on 7th March, and on the same day General Alexander, who had taken over command two days earlier, ordered the evacuation of Rangoon. It could not be held with the forces that we had, and it was necessary to avoid the disaster of having nothing between the Japanese and the oilfields in the west of Central Burma, where in due course demolitions were carried out as efficiently as at Rangoon.

While the demolition experts in Rangoon were pressing buttons which blew oil refineries, port installations, munitions dumps, power stations and other essential plants up to the skies with a roar that shook the city, thousands of weary men were moving on from Pegu to smash again through a new ring of Japanese already thrown round them. Bombed and machine-gunned from above, shot at from each side of the road, with strongly held road blocks barring their path, they battled on, inflicting and suffering many casualties, ready and destined to turn and give battle to the outnumbering enemy again and again.

The desperately outnumbered Allied Air Force performed great feats over the Rangoon area, safeguarding the execution of our denial schemes, and the escape of our shipping, and contributing to the withdrawal of our land forces. After the loss of the Port of Rangoon and the airfields in that area, this small air force had to be divided

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between the defence of Burma and the defence of India, which was no longer considered safe from air attack; while the Japanese Air Force, meanwhile received strong reinforcements. What was left of our Air Force in Burma supported the Army as far as possible till almost annihilated in action or by destruction on the ground. Thereafter, though some long-range bomber support was continued from India so that military objectives were still attacked, only all but negligible fighter reinforcements could be spared and the movements of our army lacked air cover.

THE FIGHTING RETREAT

After the fall of Rangoon the long retreat to India began, right up the parallel valleys of the Irrawaddy and Sittang rivers. It was retreat with no surrender; a slow, magnificent retreat that inflicted heavy casualties on the enemy, both in pitched battles and by daring ambushes in which hundreds of Japanese were wiped out for the loss of a few British.

At first a possibility of holding Upper Burma had to be envisaged. The British began the battle for Prome by launching a bold offensive which almost succeeded in crushing the Japanese and did succeed in inflicting heavy casualties and in relieving pressure on the Chinese troops who had now arrived in Burma and were holding the Toungoo front. The troops—80% of them British, including Gloucesters, West Yorks, Duke of Wellingtons and Cameronians, and 20% of them the gallant Gurkhas and Baluchis—who attacked Paungde, 30 miles south of Prome; felt a sudden happiness because at last they were going the right way. The Japanese fighters and bombers could operate with virtual impunity, and our men had no respite from air attack, but the enemy found themselves blasted from Paungde a few hours after they had occupied it.

There were victories, such as that of Paungde, but the contest was never on anything resembling equal terms. Always fresh Japanese reinforcements, with command of the air also, forced the British back. And in this long losing battle, the British never lost their fighting spirit. A small party surprised by the enemy while resting at dusk ran at the Japanese and put them to flight with their bare fists. When the Inniskillings charged into Twingon village astride the main road north of Yenangyaung to dislodge the Japanese with bayonets, they were staggering like drunken men for lack of sleep, food and water, in the burning heat, and they kept on till there were only dead Japanese.

The Japanese infiltration and encirclement tactics were exceedingly able. British forces had broken their way out of a trap at Pegu and again at Prome, smashing through barrier after barrier; in the battle of Yenangyaung, the oil fields on the Irrawaddy, a British force was again surrounded, and might have been wiped out if our brave Chinese allies had not fought their way through from the north. But the Chinese failed to hold the Japanese in the south of the Shan States,

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and the rapid enemy break-through past Taunggyi and up to Lashio and beyond finished the campaign. There was now no chance for the British columns to prolong their hold on Upper Burma. Lashio fell on 29th April and on 1st May we evacuated Mandalay.

THE LAST PHASE

For the moment nothing remained for the British forces but withdrawal into India. Thinned by casualties and sickness, they had fought from the first week of March, when Rangoon fell, to the first fortnight in May; 600 miles of battling retreat, much of it without even the semblance of air cover and with an average of 100 enemy planes active each day. On 10th May the final Japanese attacks were held at Kalemyo, and the British Army began to cross the mountains into Assam.

The trek had begun under skies from which enemy fighters and bombers hurled bombs and bullets every daylit hour, with the night hours lit by flaming wooden buildings and sometimes even the trees along the road ablaze like torches. It ended under skies darkened by rain that lashed like whips and never ceased. It led across almost insurmountable natural barriers of deep-flowing river, high mountain range, green jungle hell full of leeches, with green mould sprouting visibly on men's boots. At Kalewa, the river-port gateway into India, the Chindwin had risen three feet making the old jetty unusable; Indian sappers and miners built a new one. The hardy Chin Tribesmen swooped down from their hill camps to help repulse the Japanese attempt to occupy Kalewa and cut the line of retreat: good friends and formidable enemies in that country of dangerous passes and secret tracks. The Nagas, till lately head hunters, swore that the Japanese should never find a way through their wild land, and brought our men rice wine to drink with them to the future downfall of the enemy. On foot, on mules, on elephants, clinging to motor vehicles, lurching along tracks turned to mud by the rain the withdrawal to India was achieved.

SUMMARY

Except for certain territories in the Chin Hills districts and the narrow strip of territory along the west bank of the Chindwin river, which remained under British control, Burma was lost; with the forces available, it could not have been held. At the end of the campaign, General Alexander's task had changed to that of holding the Japanese by fighting a delaying action till the rains came. With forces unrested and hopelessly outnumbered he achieved this, and saved India from what might well have been a situation of the gravest peril. Future historians may well consider that the protracted delaying retreat up Burma was a vital contribution to the defence of India and the frustration of Japanese grand strategy, which aimed at striking across the Indian Ocean and linking up with the Germans across the Middle East. This great danger was averted. And General Alexander extracted an army, repulsed indeed by overwhelming

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odds, but unbeaten and undismayed; an army intact, equipped, and burning to fight again. More than four-fifths of the troops made the withdrawal, and practically all the sick and wounded were evacuated. General Alexander's extraordinary talents were employed shortly after in the victories of the North African campaign; but his achievement in a time of triumph could hardly exceed his achievement in time of misfortune and of threatened disaster.

THE PART OF THE CIVIL ADMINISTRATION

The part played by the Civil Administration in the Burma Campaign —or indeed in any other campaign—is naturally less widely realised than the purely military aspect; but hardly less vital. British achievement in the Burma campaign was considerable on the civil as well as on the military side.

DUTIES

When a state of emergency exists there must be the closest liaison between civil and military authorities. The duties of a civil government to military authorities in time of war have been summed up by the Governor of Burma as, firstly, to recognise that military requirements are paramount, and to condition themselves to meet their requirements, secondly, to do everything in their power to assist the armed forces to defeat the enemy, and, thirdly, to adapt the machinery of government to the tempo which war demands. The Military Authorities on their side, to get the maximum co-operation, must keep the civil administration fully informed of the military situation, be precise and definite about their requirements, and pay due attention to the civil government's appreciation of the local civilian situation.

PARTICULAR PROBLEMS

The civilian situation presented three main problems.

Under the constitution the Governor's power was definitely limited, and Law and Order, Police Forces, Public Works, Post and Telegraphs, Finance and other departments were under the Council of Ministers or directly under a particular Minister. The railway and port of Rangoon were both run by semi-independent bodies.

For the running of essential services Burma relied heavily on Indian workers who, having no roots in the country, could hardly perhaps be expected to endure hardship and peril on its behalf, and did in fact form the vast multitude of civil refugees with which the civil administration had to cope. There was also the fact that without this Indian labour, services essential to the military authorities would break down. In addition, the Burmese were unsympathetic to the Indians, which was likely to complicate evacuation arrangements.

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It was not practicable to declare absolute Martial Law throughout the country. Not only was there no possibility of sparing troops to enforce it, but the Burmese who are not a martial race, have little respect or liking for Military Authority and would have been antagonised; indeed, if the Japanese wanted to clear a town of people, they put out news that the military were going to take over.

Those duties and those problems the civil administration faced loyally and ably.

CIVIL CO-OPERATION WITH THE MILITARY

The Burmese Ministers voluntarily gave the Governor a free hand and supported him to the last.

A free hand was also given to the Chief Civil Liaison Officer who had been appointed before the Japanese attack, assisted by a small band of officials and a representative of the commercial community. When this officer reported each evening to the Governor, the Ministers attended, and would pass any necessary orders in connection with his actions. Later a small Ministerial Co-ordinating Committee of four Ministers was set up. The Liaison Officer reported to them, and they issued instructions to Departments and automatically conveyed sanction for any necessary expenditure of money.

District Officers were given wide discretionary powers and summary power was given to District Magistrates.

A specially appointed official, Sir John Wise, was sent up to Maymyo in Upper Burma to take charge and prepare against the eventuality of Rangoon being lost, keeping in touch with rear Army Headquarters, collecting and reposting civilian officers whose districts had been overrun, and, in fact, acting as rear Headquarters of Government.

Under the name " Security Law," Martial Law was in effect proclaimed whenever Military Authorities asked for it.

The railway passed into military control; the Irrawaddy Flotilla Company was requisitioned and handed to the Army; in forward areas the Public Works Department and Post and Telegraphs were under local military commanders.

THE WORK OF THE CHIEF CIVIL LIAISON OFFICER

When Rangoon, at the end of February, 1942, was placed under military authority, the Chief Civil Liaison Officer, assisted by a selected body of secretaries to Government and a representative of the British commercial firms, became virtually in control of the city. His work was of immense complexity. With this committee he had to devise emergency measures for dealing with new problems continually arising, and at the same time pursue a longer-term policy of building up imports of essential commodities and expediting exports of important raw materials. Evacuation had to be planned, while remaining contingent on the uncertain military situation and the demands of

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military requirements. Rice mills had to be kept going to supply the military forces, both British and Chinese, as well as the civilian population. These were but some of the civil problems attendant on the Burma campaign.

In December, 1941, there were heavy air raids on Rangoon, where underground shelters are impossible owing to the high water-level. The resultant exodus affected the work of the port and other essential services. Camps had to be organised outside the city for refugees, and the refugees had to be persuaded by reliable Indians, sent to live with and talk to them, to come to these camps where they could be transported to daily work. All this was done with some success.

While Rangoon held, every attempt had to be made to retain labour. After its fall, it was still necessary, if not easy, to hope that Upper Burma would be held. In any event it was imperative to delay Japanese forces for as long as possible while the defence of India was being organised. The evacuation problem hinged not only on the Japanese advance but on road requirement, since important troop movements must not be hindered, nor vital road-work held up. The final evacuation policy of Rangoon was worked out in three stages, leaving only essential civil personnel for the final demolition stage. On 7th March, 1942, the carefully prepared demolition plans were put into action, and the last groups left the ruined city. A statement made by the official Japanese news agency bears witness, while giving it a propaganda twist, to the effectiveness of these operations and to the enemy's chagrin :

> "The ruthless plundering and destruction by the British troops before retreating from Rangoon left nothing to be salved from the Japanese Consulate-General and various other Japanese establishments here. Business centres as well as shops owned by Chinese merchants also were found in ruins when the Japanese entered the Burmese capital."

By the end of March, over 100,000 refugees from different parts of Burma had congregated in and around Mandalay. Some 3,000 persons of all nationalities were sent by air from Shwebo before the service, inaugurated early in March, had to be transferred to Myitkyina. Meanwhile, in spite of large scale prophylaxis, smallpox and cholera began to develop. The specially appointed Commissioner for dealing with the refugee problem coped with these epidemics and organised the removal of the remaining refugees to stage camps farther north. On 28th April General Alexander decided to withdraw his troops to India, and the fit and able-bodied were at once started on the long trek. On 1st May heavy bombing of Myitkyina put the air service out of action and the place had to be evacuated. The Japanese held Bhamo. There was only one way for people on the Myitkyina side; through the Hukawng Valley.

Such a human migration is a terrible thing. It took place in a few weeks, through difficult and unhealthy country, over sparsely populated mountains where no roads led, under rapidly changing war conditions,

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with communications disorganised, and the interests of the military effort taking inevitable priority. The Chief Liaison Officer reported:

> "Twenty thousand people undertook that trek, and some five thousand were believed to have laid their bones on the way."

At a conservative estimate, about 400,000 civil evacuees reached India from Burma by all routes, with a total death roll of some 10,000 or 2½%, not including those who died in the cholera epidemics or in India when they had reached it. Transport operations carried out by the R.A.F. and the American Air Force flew 8,616 persons, including 2,600 wounded, out of Burma.

CIVILIAN OFFICERS

The first instructions to civilian officers were that they should remain at their post to the end. The reason for this hard order was that they might carry on under the Japanese and help the Burmese population.

After these orders had been faithfully observed at Tavoy with the sole result that the executive officers who fell into their hands were, apparently, taken out of the country by the Japanese, it was clear that this form of loyalty to Burmese interests was of no avail. It was therefore decided to save these men of irreplaceable knowledge for service when the tide of war should turn. Civilian officers were told to leave their districts when local military commanders agreed there could be no further use in staying.

They had been given from the first the widest discretionary powers, and they stayed till the last, strengthening the administration of districts still under British control, helping to solve the terrible problem of the refugees, and doing their utmost to meet the needs of the British and of the Chinese army.

SCORCHED EARTH

The scorched earth policy was carried out with ruthless efficiency, mainly by engineers of the commercial firms and the Port Trust, faithfully destroying that which had been their life.

On 7th March the "last ditchers" were evacuated by sea to Calcutta, having effected the demolitions and denials that were requisite. On 14th April General Alexander ordered the destruction of Yenangyaung oil field, and a few days later Chauk Lanywa and Yenangyat oil fields had to follow the same way. Hard manual labour in tropical conditions, as well as careful planning and skill, were called for from the civilian Europeans and Anglo-Burmans for these denial operations. Operations were successfully carried out.

THE BURMESE POPULATION

The part played—or left unplayed—by the local population during the Burma campaign has come in for a good deal of uninformed criticism. The suggestion that the country as a whole was actively

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anti-British and pro-Japanese is an insulting one either to the British or to the Burmese or to both; but it cannot be dismissed solely on that account. It must be accepted or rejected in accordance with ascertained facts.

Certainly the suggestion of hostility to the British comes strangely of a country where Europeans, civilians and officials, never dreamed of carrying arms for self-protection, where in peacetime the garrison of British troops was never more than two battalions—a little over 1,500 men, rank and file, when up to strength—and where over the last 20 years the number of attacks on Europeans could be counted on the fingers of a man's hands although among the Burmese themselves there were normally over 1,000 murders a year.

It comes strangely also of a country where in a losing campaign British resistance to the enemy was stubbornly maintained for so long. To suppose that the British kept up their long and strong resistance, their retreat but no surrender, while surrounded by the hostility of the mass of local inhabitants would be to claim for those magnificent fighters an almost superhuman achievement, which they themselves certainly do not claim.

The Burmese people are agriculturists, unarmed, unmilitaristic and with little respect and liking for military authority, brought up in the Buddhist faith of which one of the principal tenets is that it is wrong to take life. It is unreasonable to expect an unarmed agricultural population to rise en masse against a well-equipped invading force; nor was it expected or asked of the Burmans that the rural population should retreat en masse as United Nations forces retreated.

At the same time, in spite of the great influence of Buddhism, we have seen that among themselves the Burmans committed an average of 1,000 murders a year; because they are hot-tempered and impulsive, and will kill in a rash moment though they will not train to fight in a better cause. Crime statistics have always been high; and besides a real criminal element, the notorious dacoits, there is a near-criminal element of irresponsible roughs ready to seek loot wherever it may be found if order is relaxed. As the British retreated, the jails were opened and the prisoners released. It was of course easy for the Japanese to arm some desperadoes, and equally easy to disguise themselves as Burmese. It is true that in one despatch from the Prome area General Alexander said: " the local population as a whole appear in active support of the enemy." It is of course true that he did not say this for nothing. Many dacoits from the Tharrawaddy area, many Burmese mercenaries imbued with superstitious faith in charms to make them bullet-proof, were giving valuable help to the enemy both as regards information on British plans and dispositions, and in actual fighting. By consideration of actual figures, it is possible to view this in its right perspective. Since that single statement of General Alexander's, figures of 4,000 and 8,000 Burmese have been reported as actively supporting the Japanese. Whichever of these figures may be correct, the number is not impressive in terms of the population of the area occupied by the Japanese—a population of over 10 million.

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There is another side of the picture.

When invasion came, the Burmese Ministers voluntarily gave the Governor, Sir Reginald Dorman-Smith, a free hand, and he had this to say of them in July, 1942 :

> " My Ministers stayed with me right to the very end—and the whole time they were with me I tried to encourage them to travel about amongst the people . . . they went out every week and travelled around keeping their ears very close to the ground, and they came back . . . and they told me what they heard from their people. The fact that they stayed with me, helping me, encouraging me, advising me, that did represent the real wishes of the Burmese people ; and there they were right to the end."

Of the mass of the people the Governor, in July, 1942, had this to say:

> " I am not going to pretend that no Burmese fell to the blandishments of the Japs and to the lure of loot even to the extent of taking up arms against us. Some did ; but the point that I want to stress is that they represented a minute proportion of the Burmese people ; and that it is quite unjust to brand Burma as a country of traitors seething with hostility to the British because a few thousand—a very few thousand—bad hats co-operated with the enemy. Burma has a population of some 14 million and obviously had they been really hostile not a single British official would have got out alive. As it was, I do not know of one single case of a civilian official being molested while going about his ordinary business, unescorted and alone."

It is worth while also to remember the refugees, of whom the majority were Indians and not popular with the Burmese. At the lowest computation, 400,000 of them finally reached India, many of them after a long and terrible trek through difficult, unhealthy country. The death roll of 2½% must have been higher had it not been for the generally amicable attitude of the Burmese, and the great number of villagers who came forward with food and water to alleviate human disaster. Evacuation on such a scale would have been impossible if the Burmese themselves had not assisted in the gigantic task.

CONCLUSION

After the withdrawal of our forces from Burma in May, 1942, they had to be rested and regrouped, and there was little or no actual fighting until the middle of December. In that month British and Indian troops entered Arakan, while to the north a further entry into Burma was made by our Long-Range Penetration Group under Brigadier O. C. Wingate, D.S.O. Valuable information was gained, new methods were successfully tried out, heavy casualties were inflicted on the enemy ; but the reconquest of Burma was not, and could not then be envisaged. The constant and successful air-war on the Japanese in Burma, made possible by the building up of air-power in India, the courageous guerrilla sorties of the friendly Chin

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and Kachin tribesmen in the north, the recent advance in Arakan of the 14th Army and American-trained Chinese troops under the supreme command of Admiral Mountbatten—all these are only curtain-raisers to the main event. The drive to reconquer Burma is yet to come. The fact that Admiral Mountbatten was formerly Director of Combined Operations is a sufficient indication that when it does come the most modern technique of combined arms will be employed. When the enterprise is launched, it will be the British who have local command of the air. We know that the task will be a formidable one, but we know this also ; the troops who fought with such indomitable spirit, undismayed by circumstances of the utmost discouragement, will be matchless fighters when at last as they themselves put it, " they are going in the right direction."

March, 1944

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THE STORY OF BURMA

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PART III—AFTER THE BURMA CAMPAIGN

MILITARY

THE ARAKAN CAMPAIGN AND THE WINGATE EXPEDITION

After the withdrawal of our forces from Burma under General Sir Harold Alexander in May, 1942, little or no activity took place until the middle of December. The British and Indian troops crossed from British India to Burma through Cox's Bazaar, a small town lying close to the frontier. To the north, a further entry was made by our Long-Range Penetration Group under Brigadier O. C. Wingate, D.S.O.

These operations, distinct from each other, had a common three-fold purpose. The reconquest of Burma was not envisaged; the forces employed were much too small; the object was (a) to teach and accustom our troops to jungle warfare, (b) to test new methods whereby our troops could operate in highly mobile groups for considerable periods of time with no outside lines, and (c) to inflict the maximum amount of casualties on the enemy with the minimum of expenditure on our side.

In Arakan in the south, our troops met with initial success. Apparently overestimating our strength, the Japanese withdrew to their prepared positions just south of the Bengal-Burma frontier. Our troops had advanced to within 15 miles of Akyab before the enemy threw in strong reinforcements and halted them. A series of aggressive attacks on our part, met by vigorous counter-attacks, raged on until further Japanese reinforcements compelled our withdrawal.

The issue of casualty figures by G.H.Q. India on 25th April serves to bring the scope and significance of the Arakan campaign into some perspective. Out of total British and Indian casualties of 3,514 the number of these killed is 392, of whom 171 are British. Against this, estimates of Japanese casualties based on carefully checked evidence give a total of over 4,000; the enemy has admitted a loss of 452 killed, and the actual figure is considerably greater, probably nearer half his total casualties.

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Besides inflicting these heavy losses on the enemy, our troops had gained valuable experience; and not until the monsoon broke in May did active operations come to an end. In the ensuing torrential weather nothing more than patrolling could be attempted, and patrolling continued on both sides, becoming increasingly lively when weather conditions began to mend.

In the northern operations conducted by Brigadier Wingate, the Long-Range Penetration Group of British and Indian troops, specially trained, organised and equipped for harassing warfare, advanced into Burma and Myitkyina, moving in two columns. One cut the railway in many places, demolished bridges, and inflicted heavy casualties in a series of individual clashes. The other engaged itself in generally harassing the enemy's lines of communications, raiding his outposts and positions, and infiltrating behind his lines.

The Group traversed some 300 miles of jungle and broken country, living on supplies brought with them augmented with local supplies when available. During operations they were in constant touch with the R.A.F., who supplied important necessities by parachute. It is significant that the enemy made energetic endeavours to cut off the Group, but the training they had received stood them in good stead. They were able to break up into small columns and, independently, find their way back into India.

Much was gained to us through these operations. The lessons learnt and the skill of the handling of our troops must be invaluable in future operations against the Japanese, while the losses both in men and material which the enemy sustained were quite out of proportion to the forces sent against him. The co-operation of the R.A.F. was excellent; supplies, mail and various necessities were delivered in the jungle, and even some sick and wounded evacuated by air.

THE AIR WAR

Some of the most interesting news of this theatre of war concerns air operations.

On 15th September, 1943, Air Marshal Sir Richard Peirse said that since March, 1942, a very large air force had been built up in India, with great provision of airfields and training establishments, of maintenance repair and salvage organisation, in addition to air routes in the north, south, east and west, with communications and meteorological services.

The outstanding achievement of the Allied air forces, that is, the R.A.F., India, and the 10th U.S.A.A.F., during the months of July to September has been the very fact of the continuation of operations during the monsoon. Apart from torrential rains, flooding the airfields, handicapping aircraft performance, reducing visibility often to nil, the monsoon is liable to cause huge walls of cloud containing currents, eddies and electrical storms which would throw

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the pilot's electrical instruments completely out of gear, so that he is therefore compelled to steer round them. Floods often change the contours of the land, so that it is hard to identify landmarks even when visibility permits. Thus, for maintaining their attacks during the monsoon the Allies depended above all on the meteorological services, including the Indian and the Chinese, whose forecasts turned out to be accurate even for targets 800 or 1,000 miles away.

The R.A.F. has been mainly concerned with dive-bombing, medium and light bombing and machine-gunning of communications, especially road, rail and river traffic. More or less military objectives; barracks, troop positions, hutments and tents, oil installations, storage warehouses come in for their attention. The 10th U.S.A.A.F. has mounted a heavy and medium bombing offensive against strategic points; bridges, marshalling yards, docks, etc. "Skip-bombing" ranks among the most effective tactics used. Delayed action bombs, which give the bomber time to get away, are "skipped" into warehouses, under bridges, into trains and ammunition dumps, causing land-slides and blocking the lines.

Because of this intensive bombing programme the Japanese have been unable either to exploit Burma as they would have liked or to use it as a base from which to mount further offensive operations. Their bomber squadrons have been pushed back from the forward airfields; the heavily bombed port of Rangoon is virtually closed to shipping, and is kept under constant observation so that no sea-borne attack could develop unnoticed; railway communications between north and south Burma have frequently been completely cut.

The Japanese are in serious transport difficulties. They have become more and more dependent on river traffic, but during July, 1943, 650 rivercraft besides 300 goods wagons were damaged, while between the beginning of May and the end of August, Beaufighters and Hurricanes alone destroyed 1,620 sampans, 43 steamers and barges, 683 other craft, 45 locomotives, 510 wagons, 125 transport vehicles and 18 factories. There is little daylight traffic now in Burma by road, river or rail. Total Allied losses over India and Burma during the months June-September inclusive were but 14 aircraft—a most remarkable figure.

The position is changed indeed from the tragic days of Japan's overwhelming air superiority during the Burma Campaign. The Japanese show signs of having to husband their resources, and are only keeping a very small proportion of their air strength in Burma. They are often quiescent for two or three weeks, planning operations which last only a few days, and for which they bring in aircraft from Indo-China. In some respects their aircraft have been improved, but while they are in no way superior to Allied types they are inferior in many ways. The quality of their pilots has definitely deteriorated.

We have made immense strides in the use of air ambulances and in supplying forward units and friendly tribesmen by air. Supply dropping amounted to 190 tons in January, 1943; in July it had increased

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to 760 tons. One delivery of 10 tons to the Wingate expedition included food for 10 days and a new issue of boots. On one day in July, 28 tons of supplies were delivered in the course of nine sorties, and on another, 35 tons. In August, supply dropping was done on 27 days of the month.

THE LAND WAR TO-DAY

On 22nd November, 1943, the *Daily Express*, quoting its New Delhi correspondent, reported:

> "Allied and Japanese positions are now dovetailed along nearly 1,000 miles of land front in Burma.
>
> From the northern-most point, where Kachin levies are squatting in their ambushes under the noses of the Japanese, to the southern-most Arakan where regular British and Indian troops are stationed, there are spots at which we are separated from the Japanese by no more than a few miles . . . . . Along the whole 1,000 miles of front, whether it is manned by British, Indians or Chinese, Kachin or Chins, the fighting men welcome the fact that the enemy is now easier to get at."

Since then, a little more news has come to us of that long and strangely variegated front.

The Burman Patriots

The recent release of some stories of the Chin hillmen threw a ray of light upon the sustained courage and activity of our Burman friends.

Among the tribesmen of the border hills are British troops who never left Burma at all but re-equipped at the frontier and turned back into the jungle; veteran fighters who fear neither the jungle nor the Japanese.

But more often than not, fighting in little scattered groups, the Chin and Kachin irregulars are without British officers. Brilliant jungle fighters, they wage a war of surprise and ambush and personal initiative; age-old methods supplemented when possible by modern arms.

One cannot but feel a thrill of admiration at the sheer dash of some of the episodes related of these men by their British friends.

Walking down a jungle track in their wild hills, two Chin patriots came upon a party of 45 Japanese troops. One of the Chins was armed with an old-fashioned flint-lock; the other was lucky enough to have a Tommy-gun and one grenade. They gave battle at once. The man with the flint-lock got off three laborious rounds. The Tommy-gunner got the officer in charge and three others with his first spray; kept the Japanese from rushing him by continual fire till his gun burst; and finally put them to flight with his grenade.

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A Chin boy aged 16 led a party of 15 men to attack a transport column of 100 Japanese. Armed only with shotguns and grenades, they killed 15 of the enemy and wounded many more before the Japanese fled.

Within 10 days recently 35 Chin patriots accounted for 210 Japanese soldiers.

No wonder they are feared. One day a Chin village schoolmaster and five companions ambushed 40 Japanese who were so overcome with surprise and horror that they scarcely defended themselves; some fired wildly in the air and others covered their faces with their hands.

There is more to it than a few fine examples of human daring. Men of various frontier tribes are operating in their thousands, burning with the spirit of resistance to Japan. Distinct from levies raised on semi-military lines, they have fought on with little military backing of any kind. They have been consistently friendly to the British, but activity has grown with detestation of Japanese exploitation. Some who thought acceptance of the enemy occupation inevitable, now ask for arms. Farmers feel it is a question of fight or starve.

In the last 18 months this shadowy advance guard have made it possible for us to hold many hundreds of square miles of territory on sectors where our regular forces are small. The contribution which our dauntless Burman supporters can make to a future campaign in their country may clearly be a great one.

The South-East Asia Command

Behind local operations across Burma's frontier, a tremendous modern military machine is building up.

On 25th August, 1943, the announcement was made from Quebec that it has been decided to set up a separate South-East Asia Command for conducting operations, based on India and Ceylon, against the Japanese, and that Admiral Mountbatten was appointed to be Supreme Allied Commander, South-East Asia.

As Chief of Combined Operations Admiral Mountbatten had previously been responsible for perfecting the rapidly developing technique of opposed landings, with its many aspects such as the organisation and training of Commandos and beach parties, the development of specialised craft of all kinds and other specialised equipment, and evolution of amphibious tactics. At the same time, as a member of the Chiefs of Staffs Committee, he had been in touch with the war in its widest aspects. His appointment is therefore a sufficient indication that the most modern technique of combined arms will be employed in the reconquest of Burma when the enterprise is launched.

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The recent co-ordination under the single command of Air Marshal Sir Richard Peirse of all Allied air forces in this South-East Asia Command is a further pointer to the shape of things to come. On 24th January, 1944, came the announcement that General Giffard had been appointed Commander-in-Chief, Army Group in South-East Asia Command. An expert in jungle warfare, he directed the great expansion of our native fighting forces in West Africa during this war and trained those West African native units which did so splendidly in the Abyssinian campaign. The announcement of General Giffard's new appointment followed the news that native troops of the West African Frontier Force have arrived on the Indo-Burmese border to fight the Japanese.

There is combination of Allies as well as of arms in Admiral Mountbatten's command. Standing on the Burmese border are not only the British troops of the 14th Army (under the immediate command of General Slim) but also those Chinese troops who have been trained in India by the American staff of General Stilwell.

While our air-power continues steadily striking out ahead at the enemy's bases and communications up and down Burmese territory, Allied land forces have already made limited initial advances. On 3rd January, 1944, a short advance of British and Indian troops in Arakan was announced, driving forward on the western slopes of the Mayu range; while on all parts of the Burma front Allied patrols had been showing considerably more activity than had the Japanese. Since then, the 14th Army has captured Maungdaw and advanced beyond. In the far north, the Chinese are operating successfully in the Hukawng Valley and have captured Mingru Ga.

When the real drive against the Japanese is launched from the west, they will be made to realise the full implications of the technique of modern war as developed and applied by the co-ordinated armies, navies, and air forces of the United Nations.

THE JAPANESE OCCUPATION

But pending the reconquest of Burma—anything but an easy undertaking—what is happening to the mass of the people? The entire country, except for a little territory in the north which the British never relinquished and the reconquered areas in Arakan, is wide open both to the ruthless exploitation and the unflagging propaganda of the Japanese; and we already know something about both.

What the Japanese do

Having overrun Burma the Japanese had four main aims in the country: to win Burmese co-operation; to destroy British influence; to persuade the Burmans that the British will never return; to integrate Burma within the so-called "Co-Prosperity Sphere."

The pretence of granting Burma independence on 1st August, 1943, obvious ruse though it is, has probably not been without some

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effect on simple people in Burma; the fact that the Cabinet has a separate Ministry of Co-operation " based upon the spirit of sharing life and death with Japan " whose sole function is to see that the Burmese Government carries out Japan's wishes, and that the country is politically and economically at Japan's mercy, is not likely to worry the ordinary gay countrymen. The more politically minded minority of townsmen may well be soothed by seeing the Burmese flag, national colours, etc., handsomely displayed.

Rooting out British influence is a harder matter, and the solidarity of British administration has been too much for our enemies. Indeed, much of British law and procedure has had to be re-adopted.

The Japanese have further tried to exploit the Arakan campaign and the Wingate expedition as proofs that the British will never return by the simple device of misrepresenting these able operations as futile attempts to reconquer Burma, which of course they most definitely were not.

There has been no success in integrating Burma within any conceivable Co-Prosperity Sphere, since it is impossible without a final Japanese victory to free the shipping to restore Burma's lost trade. Economically the country is in considerable distress.

In their favour, the Japanese have the great prestige of their military success and the appeal of their Pan-Asiatic propaganda. Against that they have the present impossibility of solving the economic problems of the country, and their own inability to administer the country in such a way as to secure confidence or esteem. The Herrenvolk mentality is a psychological disaster. Attempts to gain Buddhist support, such as religious broadcasts and handsome donations, are off-set by the Japanese habit of stabling horses in the precincts of pagodas, building latrines in holy places, ill-treating Buddhist monks and entering monasteries with their shoes on. In the early days they raped and molested Burmese women without the least thought of local regard for women, and never can understand why a Burmese girl should refuse them if they offer money. Though justice is now on a more formal basis they at first tackled a sharp increase of crime by cutting off heads and publicly exposing these relics, by severe whippings, by tying up criminals out in the sun without food and water for days on end, and at least one dacoit was boiled to death in a jar. Cholera and other plagues have raged since the war, but preventive measures are only taken where Japanese soldiery are stationed. These Japanese soldiers take whatever they like without paying and when drunk behave with complete barbarity and arrogance. Attempts at regimentation of the people have not been successful; for example, the much publicised Labour Corps or Sweat Army has had little drawing power with the Burmese.

It is impossible as yet to give a very complete picture of what goes on in Burma under the Japanese, but we do know that the country has suffered grievously. For example, on 21st October, 1942, a ***Daily***

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Express Special Correspondent gave this account of conditions at that time :

> " By the end of 1942 the food position in Burma was very grave. The worst shortage was salt, and people were dying for lack of it... There was famine in some districts, especially the Chindwin Valley area between Mandalay and Myitkyina—largely because cultivators had been fleeing from the Japanese when the autumn crops should have been sown. British patrols brought out families from former Japanese-occupied villages half-starved and suffering from malnutrition diseases."

What the Japanese, their Puppets and the Germans say :

Some quotations from our enemies themselves and from their puppets are at least suggestive.

> " The British made the Burmans class-conscious by offering them large salaries . . . Under British domination Burmans suffered much owing to the multiplicity of opinions. But now we have only one voice—we must all shout simultaneously."
>
> *Chief of the Publicity Department of the Burmese Government, quoted Domei*, 8.10.42.

> " It is most important that the Burmese should remember that they no longer lead the existence of slaves, chopping and fetching and carrying. They are now free, and the boastful, bragging British have gone . . . Work is being done on the Siam-Burma railway and road. The most important factor is labour, and to achieve success, it is necessary that labourers should live under unprecedented conditions. Labourers will work from 8 to 10 hours daily and will receive one rupee."
>
> *Rangoon Radio*, 17.12.42.

> " Burma is, for the time being, completely under military administration, and the body commonly referred to as the Burmese Government is as a matter of fact part of this administration, to which it must submit all important decisions . . . The Japanese military administration's political adviser declared that there is at present only one real Burmese Government, namely the Japanese army administration."
>
> *Report from correspondent Wilhelm Schultz in Rangoon, Deutsche Allegemeine Zeitung*, 28.1.43.

> " Burma is now a treasure-house for the Imperial Japanese forces in their military campaign."
>
> *Radio Tokyo*, 18.3.43.

> " Paper currency is being issued by Japanese military headquarters. Many Burmese people are hoarding the old currency. Those

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who refuse to accept the new currency are either avaricious people or disturbers of the peace. Offence is punishable by a heavy fine."

Rangoon Radio, 6.4.43.

" Now that Burma has been given independent status, she remains indissolubly linked up with the Greater East Asia policy of Japan. In the military respect, this will to co-operate is indicated by the almost accomplished formation of a Burmese Army."

Quisling Premier Ba Maw to Transocean's Correspondent, 7.5.43.

" Burmese who had become pagoda worshippers and yearning dreamers due to English oppression are now rising towards the light of independence. Burma needs to make just one resolution, namely to offer all of Burma, with life and property, and to undergo the necessary training with Japan in order to pull through the East Asia War."

Radio Tokyo, 31.7.43.

" It is officially announced that the Burmese Government shortly intends to institute compulsory military training for Government officials and all other Government employees. The Minister of the Interior declared at a sitting of the Burmese Privy Council on 1st November that all preparations had been made. Those unfit for military training will have to join a Civilian Service Corps."

Domei, 5.11.43.

BRITISH ACTIVITY

BRITISH ORGANISATION OF THE GOVERNMENT TO-DAY

In the meantime, the British are looking ahead, and it is not only in military operations that useful experience is being gained.

The Government of Burma has set up its headquarters in Simla. In February, 1943, the Secretary of State outlined its three main tasks:

Firstly, to establish an organisation to meet the requirements of the military authorities in the operations for the recovery of the country and afford the fullest co-operation in hastening the defeat of the Japanese.

Secondly, to formulate plans for the material reconstruction of Burma and for the re-establishment of the normal life of the country after the eviction of the Japanese.

Thirdly, to study the whole field of administrative problems and make proposals for future policy.

AREAS UNDER BRITISH CONTROL

Certain Territories in the Chin Hills districts south of Manipur and the narrow strip of territory along the west bank of the Chindwin

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river remained under British control after the rest of the country was overrun, and the frontier tribesmen have played a solid and courageous part in the war.

PLANS FOR MATERIAL RECONSTRUCTION AND THE RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF NORMAL LIFE

It is clear that there is a job of immense difficulty and labour ahead in the rehabilitation of the ordinary life of the country, in the restoration of a proper administrative machine, of medical service, communications, buildings, education, supplies, etc., etc. A number of experts of all departments of the Government of Burma managed to escape to India and some of these are engaged in working out plans for the immediate needs of the civil population. Others have been taken on to the staff of the Supreme Commander, South-East Asia, who will be responsible for all aspects of administration in the early stages of re-occupation.

ADMINISTRATIVE PROBLEMS AND FUTURE POLICY

The Governor of Burma has set up in India a Reconstruction Department to study the whole problem of future policy and administration. He foresees in the re-conquest of Burma " unexampled opportunity to correct abuses and defects which were apparent . . . both those which were known to exist in peace time and those which the stress of war has brought to light, and to effect all possible improvements in Government which will contribute to the efficiency of administration and to the happiness of the Burmese people, without saddling the country with a top-heavy administration which it cannot afford to support."

Burma is primarily an agricultural country, and particular attention is being paid to the needs of the cultivator.

Reconconstruction plans are being worked our jointly by Europeans and Burmans; and the Burmese Prime Minister, Sir Paw Tun, the Finance Minister, Sir Htoon Aung Gyaw, and some Burmese officials of the I.C.S., the P.W.D., the Post and Telegraphs Department, the Port Commission and other departments are co-operating with European experts in this work. The experience of other countries is being drawn upon, and experts in industrial co-operative organisations in China, the U.S.A. and the Netherlands East Indies have been consulted. That part of the reconstruction planning which is being carried out in the United Kingdom is being worked out by two members of the Civil Service well-known for their sympathy with the Burmese.

THE GOAL OF SELF-GOVERNMENT

Burma has made very great advances towards self-government, and in 1939 the Governor of Burma was authorised by the British Government to make it clear that the natural issue of Burma's Con-

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stitutional progress was the attainment of Dominion Status. But, when in June, 1940, after the fall of France the Premier of Burma asked for a categorical promise of full self-government immediately on the termination of the war, the British Government could not agree to this because of the impossibility of predicting the world situation when that time should come, or the position that Burma's defence and foreign relations problems would then assume. Control of defence and external affairs had been retained by the Governor, but even during the war steps were taken to associate the Burmese more closely with them. A Burmese defence Counsellor was appointed to assist the Governor; and on the Defence Council which was set up there were seats for three Burmese Ministers. In foreign affairs H.M. Government agreed to negotiations with the Chinese Government for the conclusion of an immigration agreement being conducted by the Burmese ministers, and the then Prime Minister, U. Saw, led the delegates.

Burma's experience of political party government is very brief, and party politics in Burma were always a matter of coalition between men and their personal following, while votes of no confidence were frequent; the composition of the Council of Ministers changed many times between 1937 and 1940. It is too early to strike a balance between the good and harm which resulted from the extensive powers given to the Legislature and the Ministers; though one might be justified in concluding that the good represented real growth and the harm more political immaturity, there is at any rate no justification for concluding a priori that parliamentary Government is unsuited to the Burmese people.

When the Japanese have been driven out of Burma the first preoccupation will be with fundamental problems of relief and reconstruction; of reorganisation of trade and industry on a stable basis, with the restoration of law and order and reasonable living conditions; for all of which the British had made themselves responsible under the existing Constitution. Only when this task has been achieved and Burma is once more stabilised can the Burmese be fairly expected to assume the responsibility of complete self-government.

There are also problems of longer range which any government, British or Burmese, must seek to solve after the initial stage of rehabilitation. The question of Indian immigration is one; it seems unlikely that Burmese will be for some time forthcoming in sufficient numbers to supply all the labour needed in industry, and the whole problem is a vexed one. Something has already been attempted in the direction of improvement of agrarian conditions, both in regard to land tenure and agricultural indebtedness; but a far more comprehensive treatment of this problem, which raises issues fundamental to Burma's economic and social development, may be called for.

Meantime Dominion Status for Burma is as truly the goal of the British Government as it is of the Burmese people, and there is no question of the issue being shelved.

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When the Burmese Ministers asked for a definite declaration of the application of the terms of the Atlantic Charter to Burma, Mr. Churchill said in September, 1941 :

> " Burma is covered by our considered policy of establishing Burmese self-government and by the measures already in progress. We have made declarations on these matters which . . . will be found to be entirely in harmony with the high conception of freedom and justice which inspired the joint Declaration."

Late in 1941, the Secretary of State for Burma and India, Mr, Amery, reiterated the Government's intention of helping Burma to acquire Dominion Status and its promise of discussion after the war,

> " in which we mean to go as far as we can and as fast as we can on the road to that high status."

March, 1944.

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THE WAR IN THE PACIFIC

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PART I—THE SETTING OF OPERATIONS

1. THE JAPANESE BACKGROUND

At 7.55 a.m. on 7th December, 1941, Japanese aircraft struck at the United States fleet in Pearl Harbour. And after Pearl Harbour, other allied naval bases at Manila (Corregidor), Hong-Kong and Singapore. The wars in the west and in the east jumped together into the Second World War—all one war across the globe. The conflict had enveloped the five continents, more or less involving about 94 per cent. of the human race living upon this planet.

In the Pacific this latest and characteristic act of Japanese aggression at last signalled the outbreak of that conflict between Japan and the western powers which had been brewing for decades. During the last 60 years of the 19th century the flow of political power from the European West to the Far East had been in a constant ascendancy, but from that time it has gradually decreased and the expansion of Japanese influence set in.

Japan entered the modern world in 1868 just at the time of the rise of Prussia, which greatly impressed her. The new Japanese constitution was to a large extent adapted from German models, and for Japan becoming a modern state meant becoming an aggressive state. Japan began her modern career of aggression by going for China in 1894. In this war she grabbed Formosa and the Pescadores. Next came the Russo-Japanese war, and in 1905 Japan acquired a protectorate over Korea (formally annexed five years later) and gains in southern Manchuria. In spite of her failure to enforce the sweeping pretensions of the Twenty-One Demands which foreshadowed her more recently achieved ambitions in China, and to maintain her occupation of the eastern parts of Siberia, Japan emerged from the First World War richer and more powerful than before, with a mandate over the former German islands of the Mariana, Caroline and Marshall groups. Japanese aggression in China started up again in 1931 with the invasion of Manchuria. Manchuria and the three north-eastern provinces of China overrun by the Japs were, together with Jehol, proclaimed an "independent" state—puppet Manchukuo. In 1937 fresh Japanese attacks began that Sino-Japanese conflict which continues to this day. The Japanese blockaded the Chinese coast and gradually pushed down it. In February, 1939, they occupied Hainan commanding

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the Gulf of Tonkin, and next year, with the fall of France, became dominant in Indo-China; that same year Japan signed the Pact of Mutual Assistance with her European partners in crime, Germany and Italy. In July, 1941, Japanese forces were landed in Indo-China with Japanese influence extending into Siam.

The ensuing war in the Pacific cannot be fully understood apart from that perspective of Japanese aggression. The attack on the western powers was all part of one long continuous process from the Japanese point of view, and since it was the enemy aggressor who took the fatal initiative, it may be well to see how matters looked to him.

2. THE JAPANESE MOTIVES

One may well ask what prompted the Japanese to embark on their long career of perfidious aggression. An easy and superficially plausible answer is economic pressure. For it is quite true that the population of Japan doubled in 70 years, rising from 35 millions in 1872 to over 73 millions in 1942 and expanding in the later years of this period at the rate of over one million a year. The pressure on the soil in Japan may be gauged from the fact that figures of 1939 for density of population per square mile of arable land give Japan 2,774 and Britain 2,170.

But three countervailing indices should not be overlooked: (i) The Japanese have never been very keen on mass emigration. Thus in 1939 the total number of Japanese living anywhere, including Manchuria, and northern China, outside the Japanese Empire, was only a little over one million. (ii) Japan is normally self-supporting in food. (iii) All the increase in population from 35 millions to 73 millions was absorbed into industry. There are no more Japanese on the land than there were 70 years ago.

Thus, in the case of Japan, as of Germany, the economic motive for aggression, though certainly present, was not predominant. This brings one up against the hard truth that with the Japanese, as with the Germans, the ultimate driving-force of their aggression has been a brutal, perverted but, genuine faith in their national mission, exploited and applied with cruel logic and cynical opportunism. The German creed of blood and soil, of Aryan domination, seems almost modest beside the Japanese nationalistic cult of Shinto. These repulsive little creatures really believe that they, the elect of the sun-goddess Amaterasu, have a heavenly mission to subjugate and lord it over all the other peoples of the world. (The same old *Herrenvolk idea*). Elements of western nationalism and of eastern superstition have fused into a crazy notion of Japanese divinity. Ludicrous as this fanatical doctrine obviously is, it none the less presents a very real and terrible threat to all civilization, as the recent record of Japanese aggression and atrocity has made only too sickeningly evident.

3. THE JAPANESE WAR-AIM

This motive-force inspires and explains the supreme object of all Japanese aggression: *Hakko Ichiu*—"all the world under one roof"—

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a Japanese roof of course. There is no sufficient reason for supposing that Tojo, the Japanese Prime Minister, did not mean what he said when he remarked on 4th February, 1943, that " Japan intends to include every nation of the world as a member of the Co-Prosperity Sphere". In just the same sense the Japanese Governor-General of afflicted Korea said on 21st May, 1941, that the Japanese policy of " assimilation " was a policy not only for Korea but " for Europe, America, the South Seas, and indeed the whole world". The belief in this Japanese mission has been and is being systematically drummed into the whole Japanese people by education controlled by the military.

In their greedy lust for power the Japanese stop at nothing short of the world itself. On the one hand they gaze out across the Pacific Ocean towards North and—especially perhaps—South America (cf. recent Argentine revelations concerning Japanese agents); on the other they look across the Indian Ocean to Africa (cf. designs on Madagascar) and the Middle East, the eastern gateway to all Europe (cf. II. 2). But the first Japanese aggressions towards the achievement of their vaulting ambition for world-domination, as has been indicated, was methodically put through step by step over the past fifty years with the preliminary object of securing Japanese pre-eminence throughout the Far East. The three main and immediate directions of Japanese expansion have been north-west, south-west, and south-east, with a subsidiary and temporary venture to the north-east (the Aleutian Islands).

4. THE STRATEGIC SETTING

West of Japan her early conquest of Korea, Manchuria and other parts of north-east China gave her a good nucleus of power upon which to base her southward drive. Before Japan launched her attacks in December, 1941, this took the form of two main prongs, radiating upon interior lines: (i) South-westwards from Japan down by Formosa, Hainan and the China coast, into Indo-China (base at Camranh Bay); (ii) South-eastwards from Japan down by the naval base of Ogasawara Jima splaying out to Yap, the base in the Palau Islands, and the mandated islands of the Marianas (base at Saipan), the Carolines (base at Truk), and the Marshalls.

The tips of these Japanese prongs prodded into the pattern of the strategic positions of the western powers in the Far East as at the outbreak of war in the Pacific. This took the shape, very roughly, of a great bow. One tip of the arc was the Mandalay-Lashio area of Burma, the head of the strategic Burma road to Chungking; thence the great arc curved down through lower Burma, the Andaman Islands, Malay and Singapore, the East Indies, Borneo, New Guinea, New Britain, the Solomons, and up again by way of the Gilbert and Ellice Islands and other Pacific atolls to the other tip, the Main American base at Pearl Harbour upon the Hawaiian island of Oahu. Between the two tips of the arc ran the cord of the bow, stretched taut and thin; along this from east to west lay Midway, Wake Island, Guam,

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the Philippines and Hong-Kong. This was the great bow lying out in front of the three metropolitan territories of the Allies which (in addition to China) flank the huge Far Eastern theatre—America, Australia and India.

5. THE CONDITIONING FACTORS

That was, very broadly indeed, the strategic situation which confronted the Japanese militarists prior to the launching of their aggression in December, 1941. It was within this framework that they planned just when and where and how they would launch their attack in the Pacific. In planning this the enemy naturally had to take into account a whole complex of conditioning factors such as the strength of the forces and resources ranged on either side, and the elements of time and space.

Factors of space, of distance, condition the war in the Pacific with especial force. It is above all a maritime theatre of war, the sea being studded with hundreds of islands, many of them suitable for use as air and submarine bases. These islands range from the fog-bound Aleutians to the tropical Solomons, from a great continent like Australia to tiny coral reefs. Strategically these islands are annexes of the ocean, of that Pacific Ocean whose area is greater than that of all the land in all the world. Accordingly Japan, unlike Germany, had concentrated particularly upon building up her large fleet between the First and Second World Wars; she violated and eventually repudiated (1934) the Washington Treaty of 1922 whereby Britain, America and Japan had agreed to limit their strength in capital ships on a 5 : 5 : 3 ratio.

By fortifying bases in the ex-German Pacific islands under her mandate, Japan further violated the other main provision of this treaty whereby the signatories agreed not to improve their existing naval bases or build new ones in the Pacific. This provision was an especially significant attempt to safeguard peace in this area, since but for their forward bases in the Pacific the contending battlefleets would be virtually out of striking-distance of each other in view of the huge distances in the Pacific:

	Nautical Miles
Pearl Harbour to Guam	3,330
Guam to Hong-Kong	1,800
Hong-Kong to Singapore	1,459
Pearl Harbour to Yokosuka	3,389
Singapore to Manila	1,330
Singapore to Sasebo	2,416
Sasebo to San Francisco	5,309
Dutch Harbour (Aleutians) to Tokyo	2,850

(These conditions have tended to make long-distance fuelling tankers and aircraft-carriers especially important for fighting in the Pacific).

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Along with this factor of distance was the factor of timing. There are many obvious or probable reasons why December, 1941, may have seemed to the Japanese command to be just the time to strike: the German army then stood at the approaches to Moscow and it may well have seemed that it would not merely keep the Russians preoccupied in Europe but would knock them clean out of the fight before so very long; the great bulk of Britain's forces were likewise concentrated in Europe and the Middle East, with Australian troops serving in the Middle East; the front in China had been more or less stabilized for the present, with the Japanese in occupation of the strategic points all around the coast; the German U-boat campaign, although it was being increasingly brought under control, had inflicted serious losses upon allied shipping, so essential for supplying operations in the Pacific; Indo-China had been occupied and consolidated without military opposition, while at home the Japanese army had in mid-October, 1941 secured the formation of a new and aggressively-intentioned government under General Tojo; the United States was kept in play by the bogus mission to Washington of a special Japanese envoy, Kuruso. In addition to these alluring advantages there were the prompting dangers of delay: both the British and American attitudes to Japan were stiffening very much, notably since her rape of Indo-China: Britain had in October, 1940, already reopened the Burma supply-route to China, which we reluctantly had to close for three months (fortunately during the rainy season) during the darkest days of 1940; the bases at Singapore, Pearl Harbour and Guam were beginning to be reinforced and might later be much more difficult to attack; and, of course, underlying all else was the fact that British and American war production, progressing every month was calculated in the long run to leave that of Japan far behind and to offset such advantages as Japan might enjoy in carefully accumulated stocks.

6. THE JAPANESE PLAN

Taking all these factors into account, the Japanese High Command evidently drew up its plans with a view to exploiting the advantages of: (i) favourable timing and initial surprise; (ii) the central position of metropolitan Japan, able to operate on interior lines against colonial territories remote from their metropolitan powers heavily committed in the west; (iii) specialized Japanese knowledge of the Far Eastern theatre and military technique devised accordingly.

Viewed in retrospect, the Japanese plan appears to have been first to make certain of the critical balance of Pacific sea-power in the initial event by delivering a smashing surprise blow against the United States fleet in Pearl Harbour; this would further serve the immediate strategic purpose of securing Japan's rear and eastern flank while she proceeded with her main assault upon the rich and strategic territories of the South-west Pacific. In this assault the first Japanese objective was obviously the cord of advanced allied positions—Wake, Guam, Philippines, Hong-Kong—strung between the tips of the strategic

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bow. (It had long been a strategic calculation of the British and American staffs that these advanced positions could hardly be held for any great length of time against a major enemy attack). Next, or rather almost simultaneously, would come the main Japanese operation—that of occupying the whole of the huge segment enclosed, by extension of the south-westerly and south-easterly prongs of aggression radiating from Japan (cf. para. 4 above). The curving perimeter of this great segment lies along the western sweep of the arc of the strategic bow of the allies (cf. above), running down from Burma by way of the Andamans, Siam, Malaya, the East Indies, New Guinea and the Solomons.

This region was the most substantial part of the allied positions not only strategically but also economically. It was marked down by the Japanese to be the outwork of their so-called Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. The conquest of the Co-Prosperity Sphere would, provided there were adequate shipping, assure to Japan supplies of nearly all the raw materials in which she was previously deficient, notably rubber (90 per cent. of world production), oil, tin, lead, and wolfram.

That is the broad setting which has conditioned the whole course of operations in the Pacific.

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PART II—THE COURSE OF OPERATIONS

1. THE JAPANESE ONSET (December, 1941—May, 1942)

The Japanese burst in upon the allied positions on 7th December, 1941. As almost always in the case of violent and planned aggression, the initial advantage was enormously with the aggressor. The Japanese bought brilliant initial success at the price of heavy lasting guilt. The enemy plan was put through with disconcerting rapidity and precision.

At Pearl Harbour the United States Pacific Fleet sustained an extremely damaging blow. All the eight battleships there were either sunk or damaged, as well as other vessels. 177 American aircraft were destroyed and most of the others in the Hawaiian area were put out of action for a short time ; shore installations were damaged.

The enemy's eastern flank being secured, next came attacks on the string of forward allied positions. Guam fell to the Japanese on 12th December, 1941, and Wake Island after an heroic resistance, on 23rd December. On Christmas Day Hong-Kong, after another valiant stand, likewise went under to the enemy. In the Philippines Manila and Cavite were captured by the Japanese on 3rd January, 1942 ; the American and Filipino forces under General MacArthur had to withdraw to the Bataan Peninsula, which they proceeded to make a part of history by their glorious months-long stand. (The Bataan position had been selected before the war for the retreat of the majority of the garrison of Luzon ; positions had been prepared across the neck of the rugged peninsula, which was protected at the other end by the fortified island of Corregidor). Meantime, however, the great spate of the Japanese advance swirled on far beyond.

The Japanese lost no time in going for the further objectives along the arc of the bow. On 8th December, Siamese resistance to the Japanese forces advancing from Indo-China ceased after five-and-a-half hours. From Siam the enemy thrust ahead in two main directions, north-west and south-east, at the two main objectives : the Burma Road and Singapore. The sinking of H.M.S. Prince of Wales and H.M.S. Repulse off the Malayan coast on 10th December crippled British sea-power in the western Pacific three days after the blow at Pearl Harbour that had crippled American sea-power in the eastern Pacific. Our advance dispositions in Malaya had been made in the light of the fact that " over the whole of the Pacific scene brooded the great power of the United States fleet, concentrated at Hawaii " (Mr. Churchill, 27.1.42). The temporary loss of the command of the sea conditioned the whole of the melancholy Malayan campaign—a grim lesson in the extent to which all the land-theatres in this Pacific area are vitally dependent upon naval, or rather aero-naval, strategy (cf. 1.5.). For during the fighting retreat by outnumbered British forces down the Malayan peninsula their communications were repeatedly threatened by enemy landings on the coast in their rear.

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While the Malayan campaign was in progress the Japanese were also advancing down Borneo and the Celebes. The two islands are separated by the Macassar Straits, which were the scene of a major aero-naval engagement between 23rd-26th January, 1942. Light American and Dutch forces repeatedly and successfully attacked a much stronger Japanese expeditionary fleet, inflicting heavy loss. But the largest allied vessels engaged were American destroyers, symbolic of the small-calibre stuff with which the allies now had to try to hold the unremitting pressure of the enemy's multiple advance. It was an impossible job. In the last week of January the enemy made several landings in New Guinea and the Solomon Islands; he occupied Kavieng in New Ireland on 21st January, Rabaul in New Britain on the 23rd, Lae in New Guinea on the 25th. Five days later the Japs landed on Amboina Island; desperate Dutch resistance prevented the enemy from claiming its capture until 26th February; but after the enemy landing it was impossible for the allies to use the naval base at Amboina, the second largest in the Netherlands East Indies, flanking them to the east as Singapore did to the west.

The great base of Singapore finally fell on 15th February. On the day before the Japanese had already made a large-scale landing on Sumatra, capturing the oil-refinery of Palembang. After Sumatra, Java. On 27th February an allied force of Dutch, British, Australian and American warships under the command of the Dutch Rear-Admiral Doorman intercepted a large Japanese fleet of 40 transports and about 20 warships steaming to invade Java. In the ensuing *Battle of the Java Sea* the allied units engaged the superior enemy with the utmost valour, fighting to the very end. Despite their losses the Japanese came on. Java was occupied by 9th March and in the same month the enemy grip upon New Guinea and upon the Solomons was confirmed.

Just about this time, on 12th March, 1942, the British garrison had been withdrawn from the Andaman Islands, right up at the other end of the great arc of islands. Our position in the Andamans had been rendered untenable by the enemy's advances outlined above, together with his simultaneous drive into Burma. In this drive the Japanese had first overrun the tapering province of Tenasserim, virtually impossible to defend against a superior enemy. The Japanese occupied Tavey on 15th January, 1942, and attacked Moulmein on 30th January. Moulmein lies at the mouth of the Salween river. The enemy crossed this and pushed on to the parallel Sittang river. A fierce battle ensued, and another at Pegu, where British troops fought their way out of a trap in fine style. The Japanese entered Pegu on 7th March and on the same day General Alexander (who had assumed command of British forces in Burma two days earlier) ordered the evacuation of Rangoon, to which the policy of scorched earth was rigorously applied. Then began that epic fighting retreat of 600 miles through the fastnesses of inner Burma, up the parallel valleys of the Irrawaddy and Sittang rivers. The valour of the British troops under General Alexander was reinforced by that of the Chinese under

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the American General Stilwell. This retreat, through fearful country, inevitably without any adequate fighter-cover, was a very fine achievement, and General Alexander's high skill was seen displayed in victory in Egypt. In Burma it was displayed in defeat. The defeat was, however, tempered by the successful withdrawal of the bulk of our forces under conditions of the utmost difficulty. The last phase came at Kalemyo on 10th May. There the final Japanese attacks were held; the small army of staunch British veterans began to cross the mountains into Assam, and so into India.

Four days before, on 6th May, the last of the American garrison in the Philippines had surrendered at *Corregidor* after five months of inspiring resistance. It was finished, for the present. From Mandalay to Wake Island, from Hong-Kong to Rabaul, the Japanese were conquerors.

The Rising Sun had risen over the Pacific, proclaiming the advent of misery and tyranny, atrocity and terror. 73,000,000 Japanese with a homeland of 150,000 square miles had seized for themselves a Co-Prosperity Sphere comprising in all some 2,250,000 square miles of other people's territory with (at a very rough estimate) over 200,000,000 vassals.

The Japanese had exploited to the maximum their specialized techniques (e.g. jungle warfare), their interior lines, their fanatical élan, their initial concentration of decisively preponderant land, air and sea forces against opponents who were, by the very nature of the all-embracing Second World War, unable immediately or for a good long time to match against them anything approaching equal forces. In the words of Mr. Churchill on 27th January, 1942: "While facing Germany and Italy here and in the Nile Valley we have never had the power to provide effectively for the defence of the Far East". The grand strategy of the United Nations had to envisage the Second World War as a single whole in determining the all-important strategic assessment of priorities. The allied commanders did not allow emotional reactions to the Japanese onset to distort their military judgment. Priority of supplies was assigned, and correctly assigned, to the Middle East and to the Soviet Union. But that, of course, did not mean just writing off the Far East. Very far from it.

2. THE HOVERING BALANCE (MAY-AUGUST, 1942)

Already on 17th March General MacArthur, back from Bataan, had arrived in Australia to take over supreme command of allied forces in that area. That same month Japanese vessels had been observed concentrating at Lae and Salamaua in New Guinea, apparently with a view to attacking Port Moresby; allied aircraft smashed up these concentrations. Both these events were in a sense symbolic of the shape of things to come, but in themselves they were clearly nothing like decisive as yet. The general pressure of the Japanese advance continued until those first days of May, 1942, which marked a kind of watershed of operations (cf. para. 1 above).

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Between 4th-8th May was fought the *Battle of the Coral Sea*, " of crucial importance in the whole conduct of the war in this theatre " (Mr. Curtin, Australian Premier). This aero-naval battle took the form almost entirely of criss-cross long-range attack by carrier-based aircraft against the ships of the opposed American and Japanese fleets. This was the first major demonstration of the way in which the great distances of the Pacific tended to induce especially close interaction of aerial and naval power. Japanese losses in this battle, together with the attacks on Salamaua and Lae, were 15 ships sunk (including one aircraft-carrier and four cruisers), 20 severely damaged, and over 100 aircraft destroyed. American losses totalled three ships—the aircraft carrier " Lexington," one destroyer and one tanker.

Thus for the second time a Japanese attempt to advance to the south-west of New Guinea had been beaten down, and this time the check was an important one. Its influence was driven home just a month later by the strikingly similar American aero-naval victory in the *Battle of Midway* (3rd-6th June, 1942), where it is estimated the opposing forces were 200 miles apart.

After their defeat in the Coral Sea action the Japanese warships withdrew northwards from the south-west Pacific. The United States command rightly deduced from this that the enemy was preparing to attack in another direction, and American naval units were accordingly deployed northwards from Midway. At about 9 p.m. on 3rd June, United States reconnaissance aircraft reported a large Japanese invasion fleet of warships and transports steering eastwards against Midway Island, the only point on the cord of the original strategic bow of the Allies which the Japanese had not captured. American airmen displayed high courage in beating up this armada. The Japanese lost four aircraft-carriers, two cruisers and three destroyers sunk, three battleships, four cruisers and other vessels damaged, 275 aircraft destroyed. The Americans lost the aircraft-carrier " Yorktown " and one destroyer.

This fine American victory—the greatest single blow inflicted by any navy in this war—was a notable index to the swiftly resurgent power of the United States Navy in the Pacific after the disaster at Pearl Harbour. Fortunately it had involved none of America's aircraft-carriers, whose importance in Pacific operations was now so strikingly illustrated. By the same token the enemy's loss of five aircraft-carriers within a month was calculated to impose a severe handicap upon his future operations. Taken together, the battles of the Coral Sea and of Midway Island at last constituted a significant check to Japanese expansion in the Pacific and made the balance of operations, previously so weighted in favour of the Japanese, begin to hover in a more hopeful sense. More than that, they could not just then achieve.

The abortive Japanese attempt against Midway was only one of a number of long-range attacks which the enemy delivered in the second quarter of 1942, striking out in all directions from his conquered

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Co-Prosperity Sphere. The conquest of this great area was only the first phase of the Japanese master-plan against the western powers. The enemy conquest of the south-west Pacific meant, on the broadest strategic view, that he had achieved a break-through there, tearing " one serious gap in the lines of our globe-girdling sea-power. That is the gap between north-west Australia and Ceylon " (President Roosevelt 17.9.43). Now, significantly enough, the Japanese, having shorn through the colonial territories of the western powers in the Pacific, were for the first time up against the two main bases of the British Commonwealth—India and Australia—a very different proposition. Unless these two great bases could be neutralised the Japanese could never discount the possibility of an ultimate comeback against them in the Pacific on a formidable scale. It was no mere chance that in his review of the war on 27th May, 1942, General Tojo particularly threatened Australia and incited India to revolt.

The battles of the Coral Sea and of Midway Island checkmated the Japanese design to outflank Australia and New Zealand to the east by getting across the vital maritime lines of communication from Australia to America. (Measures to counter this design included the maintenance of New Zealand forces in Tonga, Fiji and New Caledonia along these lines of communication). Japanese designs in the direction of India were equally grandiose. For the culmination not merely of Japanese, but of worldwide Axis strategy, would be achieved if the Japanese could link up across the Indian Ocean with German forces driving through by way of Persia from the vitally important Middle Eastern area, the Levant-Caspian danger-front. This was the greatest danger of all. Had the enemy achieved that, then indeed " his vision of a Nazi-Samurai world would have been within his grasp. That was his grand design, which was shattered by the Russians at Stalingrad, by the British Commonwealth at El Alamein " (Field-Marshal Smuts, 19.10.43). That, of course, is looking at it from the western angle, and these critical victories in the west were not won until the autumn of 1942. Meantime the Japanese in the east were in the spring of that year already beginning to probe out across the Indian Ocean.

As early as 4th and 9th April, 1942, the Japanese attempted major bombing attacks against Colombo and Trincomalee respectively in Ceylon. (The appointment of Vice-Admiral Sir Geoffrey Layton to be Commander-in-Chief, Ceylon, had been announced on 15th March). But if they had hoped for a repetition of Pearl Harbour they were disappointed. In the two raids the enemy lost 67 planes destroyed or probably destroyed, and 25 were damaged; thus he probably lost about one-third of his total raiding force. But between 5th and 9th April, Japanese forces in this area sank the cruisers " Cornwall " and " Dorsetshire " and the aircraft-carrier " Hermes." On 6th April the Japanese bombed India for the first time, attacking Coconada and Vizagapatam; several British merchantmen in the Indian Ocean were also sunk. Later, on 30th May, Japanese submarines made a long-range attack on the British occupied harbour

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of *Diego Suarez* in Madagascar. British forces had forestalled Japanese designs by landing in Vichy-controlled Madagascar and occupying Diego Suarez on 7th May.

Directly following the attack on Diego Suarez, four Japanese midget submarines on the night of 31st May-1st June tried to raid Sydney Harbour in Australia. But there too the watch was good and all four were sunk. (The Japanese had been making sporadic air-attacks on northern Australia since the beginning of March, Port Darwin being a particular target).

Out east again the Japanese made another of their far-ranging, widely dispersed and largely ineffective jabs, shelling *Vancouver Island* on 20th-21st June. This may perhaps have been something in the nature of a spectacular diversionary operation to cover the Japanese landings on Attu and Kiska right up in the Aleutians in mid-June, shortly after the decisive defeat of the Japanese thrust against Midway. An important motive for this enemy move against the Aleutians was probably the desire to hold off any American raids from the north, where the festoon of the Aleutians projected American territory closest to the Kurile Islands and metropolitan Japan. The venturesome American air-raid on Tokyo and other Japanese centres on 18th April had shaken the Japs up a good deal.

During July the enemy lost three destroyers sunk and other vessels damaged in the Aleutians, but the main focus of the far-flung war in the Far East reverted to the ding-dong years-long struggle in heroic China: a suitable close to this phase of the hovering balance, with the Japanese still very widely aggressive but now only very moderately successful.

3. THE STEADYING BALANCE (August, 1942—February, 1943)

The shadow of the enemy's far-ranging grand strategy had still loomed large over the phase of the hovering balance of operations from May to August, 1942. This phase had been correspondingly characterised by quick, far-flung actions fought by relatively limited forces, mainly aero-naval forces. The ensuing phase from August, 1942 to February, 1943, brought a steadying of the hovering balance to the advantage of the United Nations. This was mainly done by driving home the very important implications of the earlier naval victories in the Coral Sea and off Midway, and so to speak, by pegging them down securely on land, on Guadalcanal and in New Guinea. It was a testing trial of strength. This phase of the steadying balance was accordingly characterised by intensive, protracted, slogging land-operations (dependent as always upon aero-naval power) over a relatively restricted terrain in very sharp contrast to the fighting of the preceding phase. Perhaps it is this kind of violent shift of emphasis, dictated by the especial strategic conditions in the Pacific, which tends to confuse some distant observers and to induce them to misread the campaigning there as consisting of a number of jerky moves devoid of any very significant sequence or pattern.

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The surprise landing of an amphibious American force in the Guadalcanal-Tulagi area of the Japanese-occupied Solomons on 7th August, 1942, eight months to a day after Pearl Harbour, was certainly the first considerable allied counter-attack against the Japanese. But it is much better to regard it as the start of that process of steadying the hovering balance of operations rather than as the start of a grand-scale all-out counter-offensive against the Japanese. The allied officers commanding in this area have repeatedly emphasised that this was not in fact the case, though naturally it was hoped and projected that that is what the operations would be leading up to.

Guadalcanal was a terrible battle. Indeed it was probably one of the most intense in all history in relation to the small area involved. Both sides again and again threw troops, fleets and air-forces into the mêlée, fighting in the plantations, on the beaches, on the water, in the air. And it was grim fighting against a barbarous enemy. This went on through the summer, through the autumn, through the winter, until at last on 9th February Tokyo radio announced that Japanese forces had abandoned Guadalcanal. The Americans had been too much for them.

This struggle cost the Allies 16,743 dead as against a Japanese loss of at least 50,000 killed. Considerably the greater part of these were lost in the sinking of Japanese troop-transports during the series of naval battles fought in connection with the Guadalcanal campaign. There were no less than six main naval engagements fought in the Solomons during this period :

8th/9th Aug., 1942.	Battle of Savo Island.
23rd/24th Aug., 1942.	Battle of the Eastern Solomons.
11th/12th Oct., 1942.	Battle of Cape Esperance.
25th Oct., 1942.	Battle of Santa Cruz.
12th/15th Nov., 1942.	Battle of Guadalcanal
30th Nov./1st Dec., 1942.	Battle of Lunga Point.

Finally, during the last stages of the fighting on Guadalcanal, a number of scattered naval and air actions were fought in the Solomons area between 29th January and 7th February, 1943.

In all these battles the Japanese lost two battleships, 13 cruisers, 25 destroyers and numbers of transports and other craft sunk, besides many more damaged. American losses were one aircraft-carrier, seven cruisers (plus one Australian) and 10 destroyers. This bare data gives one some idea, first of the truly desperate manner in which the Japanese tried again and again, at great cost, to reinforce their troops on Guadalcanal and regain control of the area ; secondly, yet again, of the extent to which the islands of the Pacific are strategically annexes of the ocean.

It was by sea that all the heavy equipment and reinforcements had to come to either side in Guadalcanal. And it was by sea that the equipment, supplies and reinforcements for the campaign had come in the first place from America to Australia and New Zealand. During

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the bitter months of Japanese advance the Allies had been building up to good purpose. Guadalcanal was one of the two first fruits of the Japanese failure to get across this main allied supply-line during the preceding phase. The other was the parallel campaign in Papua.

The Japanese had pushed down from the Lae-Salamaua area and landed on 21st July at Gona on the northern coast of Papua, whence they moved inland. This advance was designed to develop into one claw of a pincer-movement directed against Port Moresby, the main allied base on the south coast of Papua, upon the only large island north of Australia which the enemy had not wholly conquered. The other claw was to be developed from a Japanese sea-borne landing at *Milne Bay* upon the eastern tip of Papua. But when the invading forces landed there on 26th August they found a reception awaiting them very different from that on earlier occasions. Allied forces were just waiting for the Japs and cleared them clean out of Milne Bay in a matter of five days. They did not come back. Allied air-power played a particularly prominent part in this victory, as it was to do throughout the campaign in New Guinea.

Despite their defeat at Milne Bay the Japanese continued to come on against Port Moresby from Gona and Kokoda, right across the Owen Stanley range. But in persevering with this defiant advance they overrated their strength and (probably) effective range of supply, so that the first week in October, 1942, found them falling back from Ioribaiwa, their furthest point of penetration, with allied, and notably Australian, forces in full pursuit. This was the beginning of a fine advance by our troops right back across the fearsome country of the Owen Stanley range, through Kokoda (recaptured on 2nd November), right down to the northern coast by *Buna*. There the Japanese put up a protracted and fanatical resistance, most difficult to overcome. But overcome it was by the Australian and American forces, and on 2nd January they captured Buna. Three weeks later the last Japanese resistance was broken and land fighting ceased in all Papua. Shortly afterwards it also ceased in Guadalcanal (cf. above).

Speaking on 12th February, 1943, Mr. Churchill said :

> " We may now congratulate our American allies upon their decisive victory at Guadalcanal, and must also express our admiration for the hard-won successes of the Australian and American forces who, under their brilliant commander, General MacArthur, have taken Buna in New Guinea and slaughtered the last of its defenders."

The hovering balance of operations had been steadied in a sense favourable to the Allies, though of course it had been nothing like completely restored as yet : for the Japanese were still ensconced in almost the whole of the huge area which they had grabbed in the China Seas and the south-west Pacific. But, with that as the sobering perspective, the fact remained that the decisive check to the Japanese had at last been pegged down in Guadalcanal and in Papua, wholly cleared of the enemy. This constituted a sharp threat to the Japanese

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consolidation of naval and air bases north of Australia and New Zealand, whence they had hoped to prey upon the vital sea-lanes to the United States. The initial allied successes had just begun to reverse the heavy incidence of war against the Japanese. But it is one thing to win specific victories at specific points, and another to master a long-term adverse trend of operations (dependent upon the whole strategic setting and military power-position of belligerents) and convert it into a long-term favourable trend. That must inevitably be a very great, arduous and protracted undertaking. That is the undertaking in the Pacific which now confronted the Allies, still very heavily committed against the Germans in the West and therefore still severely limited as regards their forces and supplies in the Far East. Nevertheless these forces and supplies did notably increase during 1943 and the next phase of the war in the Pacific correspondingly marked the beginning of the allied comeback against the Japanese.

4. THE ALLIED COMEBACK (February, 1943—February, 1944)

(i) Preliminary Operations

The allied clearance of Guadalcanal and of Papua was in due course systematically exploited for offensive operations in the wider field of the Solomon Islands and of New Guinea respectively. But this inevitably entailed a considerable period of preliminary consolidation and building up. Meantime the reinforced allied air forces were striking out ahead with ever-increasing power and scope against Japanese bases, concentrations and shipping in an arc to the north of Australia running from Timor in the west through New Guinea to the Solomon Islands in the east.

This period of preliminary building up combined with mounting air-attack reflected the three conditioning factors of greatest long-term strategic significance on the allied side of the war in the Pacific during 1943 : (a) the massive output of American war-production, notably supplemented on the spot by Australian and New Zealand supplies, especially in the form of great quantities of military clothing and foodstuffs ; (b) the great achievement of American shipbuilding, which is so vital in connection with transport across the vast sea-spaces of the Pacific (to this it may perhaps be possible later to add a reinforcement of allied naval units, thanks to our eased position in the Mediterranean ; (c) the building up and intensification of American aerial striking-power.

This aerial striking-power was vividly demonstrated at the beginning of March, 1943, in the aero-naval *Battle of the Bismarck Sea.* This developed from an attempt by the Japanese to send a large convoy of 12 troop-transports escorted by three cruisers and seven destroyers to reinforce their positions in New Guinea. Allied aircraft located the enemy ships on 2nd March, and from then up to the 6th March the convoy was bombed again and again until it was completely wiped out. Altogether about 136 allied aircraft took part in the operations and dropped 226 tons of bombs. At least 80 direct hits were scored on ships. It is estimated that the Japanese employed 150 aircraft

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altogether in protection of this convoy; 102 of them were put out of action, 63 of which were confirmed as destroyed, including those destroyed on the ground at Lae airfield. At least 15,000 Japanese troops were killed or drowned. Allied losses in this notable victory were one heavy bomber and three fighters shot down and a number seriously damaged.

June, 1943, saw a further intensification of allied aerial activity over New Guinea and over New Britain—where Liberators and Flying Fortresses gave the big aerodromes round the main Japanese base at Rabaul an intensive pounding in the middle of the month—and over the Solomons. There on the 17th June the Americans won the greatest air-battle ever fought in this area. Out of 120 attacking Japanese aircraft 94 were shot down for the loss of six American aircraft, two of the pilots being saved.

Only the day before it had been announced from an advanced base in the south Pacific that since 31st July, 1942, the Japanese had lost 1,337 aircraft destroyed in that area alone. That suggested a considerable drain on Japanese air-power, subject as it is to the limited capacity of the Japanese aircraft industry; though this limitation can be exaggerated; the Japanese have taken intensive measures to expand their aircraft industry—even more than their shipbuilding, which is so very important for the maintenance and exploitation of her position within her looted Co-Prosperity Sphere; in July, 1943, it was thought that a reasonable estimate was that Japanese aircraft production was not less than 1,200 planes a month.

Meantime it may well have been that in June, 1943, the enemy tried to intensify his aerial activity over New Guinea and over the Solomons not only as a direct reply to the ever-mounting allied air offensive but also because he foresaw that this probably heralded fresh offensive amphibious operations by the Allies in those areas. It did.

(ii) New Guinea

In the first week of July allied forces renewed their offensive both in New Guinea and in the Solomons. In the Solomons the main objective was the Japanese base at *Munda* on New Georgia. (The unoccupied *Tobriand and Woodlark Islands* lying between the Solomons and New Guinea, were also taken over). In New Guinea an American seaborne force landed on the northern coast at *Nassau Bay* and joined forces with the Australian troops operating from Mubo farther down the Bitoi river. *Mubo* was the advanced base from Wau, the main rear base of the Australian force now that it had cleared all the Papuan territory. " The difficulties of the New Guinea campaign were very great. The services of supply reinforcement, transport and medical aid were carried out either by air or by native bearers. There were no roads available " (Rt. Hon. H. V. Evatt, 17.6.43). The Australian troops at *Wau* had over a long period been supplied entirely by air. (" I have watched with particular admiration your masterly employment of transport aircraft to solve the most complicated and diverse logistical

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problems". Mr. Churchill in a message to General MacArthur, published 1.3.43.) On 26th July, 1943, Mr. Curtin stated that five-sixths of the land forces in the south-west Pacific had been Australian. And since January, 1942, the Royal Australian Navy has provided most of the escorts for the continuous flow of supplies carried to the New Guinea theatre of war in allied ships.

From the area of Mubo and Nassau Bay the allied forces advanced to that of Komiatum, having as their objective the twin Japanese bases of *Salamaua and Lae* just to the north. Then on 4th September the main offensive opened with a bold and highly successful combined operation. Australian and American forces struck right out across the Huon Gulf, landing by surprise east of Lae, the more northerly of the two enemy bases. A wide ring round the Lae-Salamaua area was completed by the landing of paratroops west of Lae in the Markham Valley; these were followed by Australian airborne units. These masterly operations got the Japanese beat. Salamaua fell to Australian troops on 14th September and Lae two days later. It is estimated that four Japanese divisions totalling 20,000 men were trapped in this coastal area.

The allied follow-through from this victory was immediate. It took the form of a double enveloping thrust. One arm under Major-General Vasey in command of the 7th Australian division struck out north-eastwards, strenuously negotiated the dividing range between the *Markham and Ramu Valleys* and pushed up this latter towards the next pair of objectives—the Japanese bases at Bogadjim and Madang on Astrolabe Bay.

The second arm of the double thrust, under Major-General Wooton in the command of the 9th Australian division, struck north-eastwards by sea from Lae and, beating down some stiff resistance, captured the important Japanese base at *Finschafen*. Enemy forces on *Sattelberg* just inland made fierce attempts to recapture the base. They were defeated, and the Australians proceeded to advance through very difficult mountainous country along the northern coast of the *Huon Peninsula* in the direction of Madang. Then on 2nd January, 1944, American troops made another bold seaborne descent out ahead at *Saidor* half-way between Finschafen and Madang. Once again a considerable Japanese force was ringed around—by the Americans closing in from Saidor in the rear, by the Finisterre range inland backed by the Australian-held Ramu valley, and by the other Australian force coming up from Finschafen and from more recently (17th January) captured Sio. On the morning of 10th February, 1944, the Australian and American troops joined forces, converging at *Yagomi*. A Japanese force of 14,000 men was reported to have been destroyed.

Meantime, on 2nd February, had come the first official reference during the campaign to fighting in *Dutch New Guinea*, right down on the Eilanden river by the remote and swampy southern coast. Dutch and Australian troops put to flight a Japanese force operating in barges.

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This successful and continuing campaign in New Guinea vividly illustrates General MacArthur's imaginative application of superior allied sea and air power to push forward by leaps and bounds the gruelling land operations up the huge island. (The sobering perspective of operations may be gauged from the fact that the direct distance from Buna to Lae is about 175 miles, whereas the whole length of the island of New Guinea is about 1,750 miles—once again that dominating factor of distance in the Pacific).

During the Malayan campaign the Japanese had skilfully exploited their temporary aero-naval superiority in order to make repeated seaborne landings behind the British lines in concert with constant pressure upon the main land-front. Now in the New Guinea campaign the tables are being turned against the Japanese with a vengeance.

(iii) Solomon Islands

Leapfrogging tactics of a similar sort were a distinctive feature of the parallel allied advance up the Solomon Islands. On 15th August, 1943, American forces jumped ahead from *New Georgia* (where Munda fell after bitter fighting) to *Vella Lavella*, 45 miles to the north-west, thus blockading the Japanese upon the intermediate island of *Kolombangara*. On 9th October Tokyo radio admitted the Japanese evacuation of both islands. The time-lag indicates the tenacious resistance of the enemy. In order to maintain it the Japanese, even when their strategic position was decidedly poor, tried again and again to get through reinforcements and supplies by sea just as they had done at Guadalcanal, if on a somewhat smaller scale. This involved a further series of aero-naval engagements of the familiar type. In such battles as those of *Kula Gulf* (5th/6th and 12th/13th July, 1943) and of *Blackett Strait* (19th July) the Japanese again lost heavily. Full accounts of these engagements are not yet available.

By the beginning of November, 1943, American and New Zealand troops had further occupied positions on the Treasury Islands and, temporarily, in Choiseul, and on the first day of the month American forces made a successful landing at Empress Augusta Bay in the large island of *Bougainville*. These advances consolidated, New Zealand and American troops made another outflanking jump ahead to the *Green Islands*, and occupied them on 14th February, 1944. These islands lie about 120 miles east of Rabaul and are north of Bougainville and Buka at the northern extremity of the main Solomons group. In the words of the official announcement from allied headquarters in the south-west Pacific: "This culminates the series of flank movements which began in the New Georgia group and has gradually enveloped all enemy forces in the Solomons. These forces, estimated at 22,000 strong, dispersed through Choiseul, Shortland, Bougainville, and Buka Islands, are now isolated from their sources of supply at Rabaul."

This strategy of amphibious flanking-attack successively cutting in behind the enemy forces is naturally only rendered possible by local allied and naval and air superiority. During all the campaigning in

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the Solomons and in New Guinea, allied air-forces have been striking out ahead with most destructive effect at Japanese shipping, airfields and base installations, ranging from enemy troop-barges in the Solomons to airfields at *Wewak*; a series of devastating air-attacks were sustained by this main Japanese rear base on the northern coast of New Guinea west of Madang. This hammering from the air of the Japanese lines of supply has without doubt had a most important bearing upon the success of allied operations.

(iv) New Britain

These Japanese supply-lines to their forces both in New Guinea and in the Solomons radiate from the enemy's key-base at *Rabaul* in New Britain. This port has accordingly been the favourite target of all for allied bombers; and Rabaul is very important not only as a supply-base but also as an air-base, corresponding in this respect to Wewak in New Guinea. General MacArthur exploited this division of enemy air forces by dealing with them in detail, throwing in his own massed air forces first against Wewak in September, 1943, at the time of the fighting for Lae and Salamaua, and then against Rabaul, notably in a great surprise raid delivered on 13th October by the biggest air-force ever assembled in the south-west Pacific. Three enemy destroyers and two merchantmen were sunk or damaged and well over 100 smaller craft were similarly dealt with; in addition 177 enemy aircraft were destroyed or damaged. This was estimated to be about 60 per cent. of Rabaul's entire air strength. This operation, together with the first phase at Wewak, gave the Allies definite mastery in the air over this area, thereby threatening that whole stretch of the enemy's perimeter of defence.

The allied advance in New Guinea is headed towards Madang and ultimately Wewak, but on a broader strategic view the advances up New Guinea and up the Solomon Islands take on the aspect of a concerted menace on either flank to Rabaul itself. This overall pattern of operations was brought out still further on 15th December, 1943, when American troops landed successfully at *Arawe* on Cape Merkus in the island of *New Britain* itself. This first allied assault against the island was subsequently reinforced by a second landing at Cape Gloucester (26th December), resulting in the capture of the airfield there, on the western tip of the island, closest to New Guinea. These two forces subsequently linked up along the river Itne, running down to the southern coast. The landings on New Britain were followed on 12th February, 1944, by the occupation of *Rooke Island* lying in the Vitiaz Straits between Cape Gloucester in New Britain and Sio (occupied on 17th January) in New Guinea. These operations once more demonstrated the application of the leapfrogging technique of strategic economy of time and effort in spanning the great distances in the Pacific.

(v) Central Pacific

Thus in New Guinea and in the Solomon Islands the allied forces have driven forward in two parallel advances headed north-westwards

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against the south-eastern tip of the great defensive arc established by the enemy to mask the approach to his looted " Co-Prosperity Sphere." Since November, 1943, these parallel north-westerly drives by the Allies in the Pacific have been matched by a third, through the Gilbert and Marshall Islands.

Already in August-September, 1943, American forces made preliminary and destructive raids on Japanese bases in the *Gilbert Islands*. On 20th November United States marines and army units landed on the Islands under cover of a powerful fleet. Within a week the group was virtually cleared of the enemy, though not without some very bitter and costly fighting, particularly on *Tarawa*.

This successful operation had been preceded by air-attack on Japanese bases in the *Marshall Islands*. Then at the beginning of February, 1944, this archipelago of low coral islands was in turn subjected to amphibious attack by American forces. The *Kwajalein* group and other key points in the Marshalls were swiftly captured, and later in the month the Japanese were also expelled from their air base on Engebi Island in the Eniwetok atoll. The enemy garrison upon Engebi was completely wiped out in this swiftest, six-hour victory in the Pacific. The heavy casualites inflicted upon the Japanese at relatively very slight cost to the attacking Americans suggested that their technique of amphibious attack in the Pacific had profited considerably by the lessons of Tarawa.

This satisfactory advance against the Marshalls is all the more remarkable since this was the first occasion upon which the allied counter-offensive in the Pacific had driven into territory which had been for years under Japanese control, long before the outbreak of the present war. As it is, allied forward positions in the central Pacific have notably pushed ahead, and by the middle of February, 1944, the radius of American attack was already extending to the *Caroline Islands*, where the bombing of Ponape (about 600 miles west-south-west of Kwajalein and about 400 miles east of Truk) was followed by the announcement that " on 16th February powerful naval task forces of the United States Pacific Fleet commenced an attack on the Japanese naval base at Truk with several hundred of our aeroplanes participating". The Americans announce that in this highly successful two-day raid—" a partial settlement of the debt " owing from Pearl Harbour—their forces sank 19 Japanese ships (including two light cruisers and three destroyers), probably sank seven more, destroyed at least 201 enemy aircraft and damaged more than 50 others on the ground. To complete this resounding blow, enemy shore installations " were thoroughly bombed and strafed ".

Few details have ever been revealed about the important Japanese naval base at *Truk*, but it is believed to be a first-class anchorage large enough to accommodate all the known ships of the Japanese fleet. Truk was formerly available to the enemy as a central base for the maintenance of all his captured forward positions round from New Guinea to the Gilberts. Truk lies about 800 miles north of Rabaul, already threatened

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by the allied advances in New Guinea, New Britain and the Solomon Islands. Thus the latest allied blow has struck right in against the enemy power-centre in this area, and it is reported that allied supremacy in the Bismarck Sea is beginning to blockade the Japanese forces upon New Ireland and New Britain in a most trying fashion. This threat has been sharply pointed by the landing on the Admiralty Islands.

The great attack upon Truk was swiftly shown to bear not only southwards towards New Ireland and New Britain but also northwards, up to the Mariana Islands, the third and most northerly group which Japan had got mandated to her. It was announced on 23rd February that hundreds of American carrier-borne planes attacked enemy bases on the Saipan and Tinian Islands in the Marianas. This group lies about 1,300 miles from Tokyo, a good long way off still, but still too close to be quite comfortable for the Japanese.

Just as in the early days the Japanese scythed down great swathes of Pacific territories in a south-easterly sweep, so now is the allied comeback in the Pacific beginning to take the form of an enveloping north-westerly sweep in the contrary direction. But as yet it is only a beginning. In a sense, though, the American attack upon Truk focuses the fact that, now that the allied advance on the central Pacific is assuming such considerable dimensions, it is more than ever questionable whether the Japanese can make any sufficient attempt to check it without throwing in part at least of their main battle-fleet, hitherto kept in reserve. On the other hand the enemy must be most reluctant to expose any large portion of this main battle-fleet to serious and premature risk, since it is of vital strategic importance for the defence of metropolitan Japan.

(vi) Northern Pacific

Regard for the defence of Japan proper had helped, it has been suggested (cf. above), to prompt the enemy landings in the *Aleutian Islands* right up in the north Pacific in June, 1942. Here, too, the Americans successfully came back against the enemy next year. Between 1st March and 11th May, 1943, American aircraft bombed the Japanese on *Kiska* 205 times. On 11th May American forces outflanked Kiska in the familiar manner by landing on *Attu*; this is the western-most of the Aleutians, lying about 150 miles west of Kiska and about 850 miles west of the United States naval base at Dutch Harbour. All organised Japanese resistance on Attu had ceased by the end of the month, and in August American and Canadian troops occupied Kiska itself and adjacent islands.

This re-occupation of the Aleutian Islands marks a great advance is securing the safety of the sea-routes of the north Pacific, and affords the United States air forces forward bases only 500 miles from the nearest Japanese territory in the *Kurile Islands*, and 1,100-1,500 miles from Japan itself. Nor is this American threat only from the air,

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as was demonstrated early in February, 1944, by the enterprising bombardment by American naval, as well as aerial, units of the Japanese base of *Paramushiro* on the northern tip of the Kurile Islands.

(vii) Burma Front

Thus American forces have been decidedly active in the Pacific against the extreme north-easterly extension of Japanese aggression. British forces have been correspondingly active in Burma against the extreme north-westerly extension of Japanese aggression, though this is in many ways a much bigger proposition, involving as it does not a number of scattered islands but a great land-front. The Arakan campaign and the Wingate expedition (December, 1942-May, 1943) were relatively small-scale holding attacks with strictly limited objectives. But the Wingate expedition, in particular, besides being a most romantic and rewarding raid far behind the Japanese lines, afforded a notable illustration of a successful operation relying almost entirely upon supply by air (cf. in New Guinea). In this connection one squadron alone of the Royal Air Force flew over 50,000 miles and dropped half a million pounds of supplies.

And our mounting aerial offensive over Burma has ranged out far ahead. Already in March, 1943, the Royal Air Force on the Indo-Burmese front operated on every day and 22 nights. By June it was making nearly eight times as many bombing raids and dropping more than eight times the load of bombs it dropped that time a year before. These powerful attacks by the Royal Air Force dovetail with those delivered by the United States 10th Army Air Force in the same area. There has to some extent been a division of functions between the R.A.F. and the 10th U.S.A.A.F. The British aircraft have concentrated mainly upon medium dive-bombing and light bombing and machine-gunning of enemy communications by road, rail and river, and of tactical objectives such as barracks, troop positions, oil installations and stores. The Americans have mounted a heavy and medium bombing offensive in Burma against such strategic points as bridges, marshalling yards and docks.

The intensive aerial assault has prevented the Japanese from exploiting Burma as they would have liked, or using it as a base from which to mount further offensive operations in the direction of India. The enemy bomber squadrons have been pushed back from forward airfields, and the port of Rangoon has been badly hit. In the interior also the Japanese are in serious difficulties over transport. In brief, allied air-superiority over Burma is very marked, and our losses have been very low.

Meantime, behind this screen of air-power, British and allied armies have been steadily building up upon the Indo-Burmese border. Already in June, 1942, came the announcement of the arrival in India of a very large convoy of British troops and materials; and in the past eighteen months much progress has been made. At the time of the Quebec conference in August, 1943, Admiral Lord Louis Mountbatten

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was appointed Supreme Allied Commander of the newly constituted South-East Asia Command; the Deputy Supreme Commander is the American General Stilwell, who commanded the Chinese forces in the Burma campaign; he is also Commander of all United States forces in India, Burma and China—an indication of the way in which the fronts in Burma and in China are closely related in allied strategy. In the words of Mr. Churchill (21.9.43): " This form of combined allied headquarters for the South-East Asia front was absolutely necessary because of the many United States establishments which were growing up separately for many purposes in that area, and particularly in respect of the great air route to China which is being expanded and manned on an ever-increasing scale . . . . The new command and the appointment of Admiral Mountbatten has been warmly welcomed by Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek".

Admiral Mountbatten was formerly Director of Combined Operations, and the co-ordination under the single command of Air Marshal Sir Richard Peirse of all allied air forces in this South-East Asia Command is a further indication of the extent to which the most modern technique of combination of arms and of allies is being applied in this theatre. The main force operating on the Indo-Burmese border is the British 14th Army under the immediate command of General Slim, who is subordinate to General Gifford as Commander-in-Chief, Army Group in South-East Asia. But there are also those Chinese troops who have been trained in India under General Stilwell. Towards the end of January, 1944, these Chinese troops operated successfully in the Hukawng Valley where they captured Mingru Ga, while British forces down by the coast captured *Maungdaw* and advanced beyond. By dint of brave and skilful fighting they completely defeated an ambitious Japanese attempt to wipe out our advanced elements. As a result of the improving situation in European waters, particularly since the surrender of the Italian fleet, a part of the strength of the Royal Navy is being brought increasingly to bear in eastern waters. On 21st January, 1944, it was announced that a British submarine of our Eastern Fleet had sunk a Japanese cruiser in the northern approaches to the Malacca Strait.

Mr. Churchill has explained (11.2.43) that " for the time being in the war against Japan the British effort is confined to the Indian theatre. Our Asiatic war effort is confined to operations particularly in Burma to open the Burma Road, to give what aid can be given to the Chinese". Meanwhile great work is being done by the American Air Transport Command, based in Assam, in flying important and ever-increasing quantities of supplies over the " Himalayan Hump " to China.

(viii) General Position

And not only British strategy in Burma but also American strategy in the Pacific is closely integrated with the strategic situation of indomitable China, still the critical land-front against the Japanese. Early in February, 1944, Admiral Nimitz, Commander-in-Chief

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of the United States Pacific, said on his return from the recently captured Marshall Islands : " Our object is to get our ground and air forces into China as early as possible. In the last analysis I do not believe that we can defeat Japan from the sea alone. I believe the Japanese can only be defeated from bases in China because they draw food, iron and other supplies from Manchuria and China, and as long as they have access to these they will be difficult to beat. Furthermore, we want air bases in China from which we can deliver raids, not sporadic ones, but like those the Germans are receiving ". A few days later General Stilwell, speaking in Chungking, said that the development of airfields in free China was proceeding apace and that support from the Chinese interior would be given to the long-term design of breaking through from the Pacific with the eventual object of compelling the enemy to relax the grip of his blockade upon the coasts of China.

But all that is for the future ; and meantime, as Admiral Nimitz said, the fanatical Japanese enemy is strongly established in his very rich and extensive "*Co-Prosperity Sphere.*" That is what the Allies at war with Japan are reckoning with. It can only be assumed that it will be a very tough and testing job to smash the hateful tyranny of the Japanese and break up their empire of evil. But it is a job that is going to be done good and proper.

In the great declaration issued from Cairo on 1st December, 1943, Britain, America and China solemnly " expressed their resolve to bring unrelenting pressure against their brutal enemies by sea, land and air. This pressure is already rising.

" The three great Allies are fighting this war to restrain and punish the aggression of Japan. They covet no gain for themselves and have no thought of territorial expansion.

" It is their purpose that Japan shall be stripped of all the islands in the Pacific which she has seized or occupied since the beginning of the First World War in 1914, and that all the territories Japan has stolen from the Chinese such as Manchuria, Formosa and the Pescadores, shall be restored to the Republic of China.

" Japan will also be expelled from all other territories which she has taken by violence and greed.

" The aforesaid three Great Powers, mindful of the enslavement of the people of Korea, are determined that in due course Korea shall become free and independent.

" With these objectives in view the three Allies, in harmony with those of the United Nations at war with Japan, will continue to persevere in the serious and prolonged operations necessary to procure the unconditional surrender of Japan ".

April, 1944.

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